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AFRICA IN SELECTED 18TH CENTURY FICTION: AN EXAMINATION OF FICTIONAL AND NON-FICTIONAL IDEAS

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines in what ways the representation of Africa in non-fiction travel literature contributed to the development of English fiction in the eighteenth century. The interest shown by Englishmen in England's political, economic and cultural relationship with the world, and the publication of a large number of books about these travel contacts, made travel and foreign places attractive subjects. The image of Africa became an attractive vehicle for the exposition of a variety of moral and philosophic ideas of the age.

Differences and similarities in form and content are revealed in comparisons between Addison's Remarks on Italy and non-fiction travel literature in Africa. These comparisons reveal the peculiar features of travel literature on Africa which attracted the creative instincts of writers of fiction. The physical distance between Europe and Africa, and the immense cultural differences established by travel books offered writers of fiction, such as Daniel Defoe and Samuel Johnson, unrestricted manipulation of non-fiction material for fictional purposes.

Defoe's representation of the image of Africa in the travel metaphor of Captain Singleton is a blend of both non-fictional and fictional ideas. The tendency of writers

of non-fiction travel literature to describe the unique features of the continent of Africa to appeal to the reader's sense of wonder and satisfy his curiosity is closely imitated by Defoe. But he also uses the uniqueness of Africa to reveal his interests in the commercial, ethical and spiritual implications of travel. In Captain Singleton, therefore, there can be traced a delicate balance between historical and geographical facts from travel books about Africa, and the literary manipulation of these facts.

Rasselas illustrates an advanced stage in the development of travel fiction from non-fiction travel literature on Africa. There is no attempt by Johnson to maintain a balance between non-fictional and fictional ideas about the image of Africa. Geographical and historical particularities and cultural prejudices are translated into universal and moral symbols. In Rasselas, Africa represents more than a unique source of geographical and cultural variety. The uniqueness inherent in its physical remoteness and the cultural prejudices of European travellers provided a greater freedom in writers' manipulation of factual material for fictional purposes, and a flexible vehicle for literary communication.

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INTRODUCTION

The course of political events in the late seventeenth century so affected literary history that the study of eighteenth century travel literature necessarily involves some familiarity with the political, economic and cultural currents of the earlier period. The changes on the political scene, effected by the Revolution of 1688, heightened England's awareness of the foreign more than ever before. Parliament had to look beyond the political boundaries of England for a successor to the throne, and, when the successor had been chosen, his policies were inclined toward more active involvement in European affairs, whether it was war against piracy in the English Channel or war protecting English and Dutch Protestantism against French Catholicism. Though the Bill of Rights of 1689 weakened the power of the monarchy, it was only so that civilians could use English resources to further foreign policies. The political factions in Parliament were interested in foreign involvement though for different reasons. The Whigs were in favour of the King's protection of English Protestantism against French Catholicism and, having the majority of the commercial class on their side, took advantage of the King's maintenance of a standing army in

Europe by pressing for and obtaining convoys to protect their interests in imperial trade. The Tories, who were mostly aristocratic and Catholic, maintained physical contact with Catholic France and Italy by frequent travels through these countries. These political, economic and cultural involvements with the foreign led to a remarkable increase in the publication of travel literature. This increase coincided with the growth in the popularity of journalism as a medium of communication. The decline of drama, due to the censorship of plays and attempts at theatre reform by clergymen, writers and political leaders, made the theatre politically and socially weak in its role as an important medium of communication. Journalism with all the advantages of press freedom, flexible style and a wider circulation took over the publication and popularization not only of government policies but also of the military, economic and cultural news about England's foreign involvement at both national and individual levels. Gradually, there evolved a distinct tradition of travel literature which played an important role in the development of fiction in the eighteenth century.

The changes on the political scene which encouraged the interest of English people in the outside world during the last two decades of the seventeenth century were largely due to the Revolution of 1688. James II's short reign, during which had arisen bitter controversy about Whig and Tory policies, especially about the issue of adherence to the concepts of the divine right of kings and the hereditary

order of succession, ended when the king rejected an Anglican establishment in favour of Catholicism. The need to restrain James, and neutralize, or even eliminate, his religious bias was such that both Whigs and Tories acted in concert in the decision to invite William of Orange over to England. Both parties hoped by this decision to assure Protestant succession to the throne and to remove the threat of Catholicism. These things were not so easily achieved; however, the flight of James to France offered some respite to both parties who used this opportunity to recognize their policies and their government. An interim governing body, created after the king's flight to France, agreed that the vacant throne of England would be assumed by Mary, the eldest daughter of James, and her husband, William of Orange. The joint acceptance of the throne by Mary and William was satisfactory to both Whigs and Tories. The Whigs were quite content with the re-establishment of Protestant succession and with their triumph in the exhibition of the proof that the power to govern was not restricted to the monarchy. The Tories were content too. They had insisted on and ensured the legitimate succession of the Stuarts to the English throne. Mary, being the daughter of James II, was a legitimate Queen of England.

The Convention went on to decide the terms of the offer of the throne to William and Mary. The Commons, with its majority of landed and commercial people, set up a Committee to undertake this assignment. The terms, known as

the Declaration of Rights, were published before the Coronation. They were enshrined in the Bill of Rights of December 1689, and included restraints on the king's power to suspend, or dispense with, the operation of Acts of Parliament without the latter's approval. The Bill also set limits to the monarch's prerogative to levy money or maintain a standing army in time of peace without Parliamentary consent. The terms emphasized free election to, and freedom of speech in, Parliament. The House of Commons was put in charge of national finances. However, the king's approval was a prerequisite for making laws, and he retained the power of appointing or dismissing his ministers. In short, however vague and precarious the division of power may have been, the Bill of Rights created a balance between the two main constituents of the government of England. The relationship between the executive and the legislative bodies was largely based on shared responsibilities. This relationship was to help keep both in check. The emphasis on parliamentary liberties made the king's powers less formidable, and though it took several years more to work out the advantages of this relationship for the best results, the foundation for a more democratic government had at least been laid.

The joint decision of the Whigs and the Tories to look beyond England for a successor to the English throne marked the beginning of the development of political, social and cultural relationships with Europe, which was to expand during the eighteenth century to include contact with other

continents. William came over to England determined to keep the French at bay, and he was justified since his ascension to the throne had made him an enemy to the French who had provided refuge for James and were just as determined to restore him to the throne. To protect his position, William insisted on and gained the right to maintain a standing army in Europe, mainly in Holland. Indirectly, this move strengthened cultural ties with the Dutch; William gained an ally in his wars against France. Such was the importance of his foreign policies to him that William found the weakened power of the monarchy a fair exchange for the maintenance of his foreign policy.

The political changes, however, effected an increase in party conflicts. The compromise between the Whigs and the Tories on the offer of the crown to Mary and William was only temporary. The compromise had its advantages. For a while William, who had little sentimental attachment, initially, to either of the parties, was able to choose his ministers from the best members of both Whigs and Tories. The rivalry between the parties brought about the opportunity for alternative policies and this allowed William to develop new and important foreign policies. The compromise also gave the two parties time to explore the means of outrivaling each other in politics and in society, and of strengthening and developing their foreign contacts. Both parties stood for distinct foreign policies which they supported with their political and social power at home. The political and

social strength of the Whigs, for example, experienced a remarkable growth with the increase in the influence of the commercial class--most of whom were Whigs--in the affairs of the government. The financial implications of William's foreign policies aided this growing influence. The activities of the commercial classes provided employment at home, and their profits made a large contribution to war finances. Their wealth was substantial enough to buy them social and political prestige. They seized the opportunity offered by the government's partial dependence on the profits accruing from their activities to situate themselves in positions that would help with the promotion of their commercial endeavours, an activity which was to establish most of the contacts with the outside world. To safeguard their long-term security and prosperity, merchants fought for and protected monopolies which would encourage and ensure future profits and the flow of capital for war. There was a new mutual dependence between the government and the merchants. In 1696, a Council of Trade was appointed to inquire into England's commercial losses on the seas and arrange for adequate protection for merchant ships. Later the government appointed naval convoys to protect merchant ships in the English Channel and on the Mediterranean during the outbreak of war in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Incidentally, it was these two groups--the merchants and the navy--which provided England with the bulk of information about foreign places. The merchants' endeavours to maintain a stronghold on overseas

trade monopolies resulted in the expansion of trade to more distant parts of the world; and the government's encouragement of the use of convoys to protect merchant ships made travelling outside England to more distant parts of the world more attractive to navigators and missionaries as well. Furthermore, the successes and failures of the English army in European wars were popular news items.

The Tories were just as enthusiastic about their foreign contacts as the Whigs. The Tories, mostly aristocratic and Catholic, never quite forgot how Charles II had been received by France during his exile, and though the Tories had no strong political support for their Catholic friends they maintained some contact with the Jacobite Court in France. Sons of Tory aristocrats were sent off on educational tours through France and Italy for a couple of years or more. It is to these tours that posterity owes the valuable information on European countries.

The grand tour, however, was not limited to sons of Tory aristocrats. Well educated men who belonged to classes and factions which were socially and politically dominant were sponsored on similar tours. During his residence at Oxford University, Joseph Addison, for example, caught the attention of men of literary fame and social prestige such as Lord Somers and Charles Montagu with poems celebrating the military victories of the King. His introduction to Lord Somers at the latter's request was a turning point in the young man's life. Both Somers and Charles Montagu held

important Whig positions in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Both men were instrumental in arranging for Addison a pension of three hundred pounds per annum from the government, "to enable him to complete a circle of his accomplishments by travel."[1] Such beneficiaries of state patronage were encouraged to write pamphlets and publish newspaper articles popularizing party policies and replying to the taunts of the opposition. Thus began the development of a closer relationship between statesmen and writers. John Loftis writes that "[in] most periods of history political writing had been relegated to sub-literary ephemera; in the Augustan Age it was given, in the work of a group of major writers, the dignity of a high literary form."[2]

This close relationship between statesmen and writers was especially conducive to the political atmosphere of the time. The partial sense of democracy which evolved from the weakening of the monarchy and produced free speech and individual thinking increased public participation in political affairs. The factions within Parliament became conscious of their need for social and political recognition and this made them more enthusiastic about discovering efficient methods of making their power seen and felt. The provisions of the Bill of Rights for regular elections made the political parties very conscious of the necessity to reach out to the electorate. The Triennal Act in 1694 had laid down that Parliament should not last longer than three years, and for over a decade this ensured a period of

stronger party commitment. One direct consequence of this state of affairs was the increased demand for party propaganda, and with that, a growing recognition of the role which the pen could play in national affairs. The transmission of political ideas was facilitated by the expiry of the licencing act in 1695 and the reluctance of Parliament to renew it immediately. The press gained new liberties--not that it had not found ways of avoiding the previous restrictions of the act. The copyright law passed by Parliament in 1709 put the book trade into a better condition than it had enjoyed during former years. To prevent the constant pirating of original editions of books the leading publishing houses had appealed to Parliament for better laws to govern book publication. The reply to their appeal was the Copyright Act. The terms allowed that a book might be copyrighted for fourteen years. The act also provided that titles should be registered with the Stationer's Company, and that the breach of this rule subjected the offender to a fine. These conditions improved the book and journal trade. The publication of essays, periodicals and other journalism became increasingly plentiful and effective in party propaganda. The interest in government policies among the electorate encouraged the intrusion of political matter into all kinds of writing. This remarkable growth in the political consciousness of the electorate is discussed by G.S. Holmes and W.A. Speck in their book, <u>The Divided Society</u>:

> The social life and recreations of Englishmen, whether in London or in the provinces, were frequently invaded by the loyalties and antagonisms of the world of politics. The career of a professional man, in the church, in the armed forces, and to some extent even in law, could be heavily dependent on the goodwill of influential members of the party currently enjoying political favour. The two most powerful media of communication in early eighteenth century England--the pulpit and the press--were also the two most effective instruments of party propaganda; and this propaganda was far from being limited in its impact to the political nation [i.e. those with franchise]. Below the level of the electorate there was not merely interest in politics, in many quarters, but occasionally vigorous participation. Some of the fiercest partisans in Augustan society were women; and some of the most uninhibited supporters of the Whigs and Tories were to be found amoung the unrepresented masses of London and the larger provincial towns.[3]

In a political environment such as this, a good writer was a valuable asset in party propaganda. It is hardly an exaggeration to observe that the survival of political parties depended heavily on the writers' persuasiveness in clarifying party policies and in speeding up their dissemination. Party propaganda did not only include government policies at home. The imperial temper of the age was often encouraged by newspaper articles or pamphlets on the successes of merchants in their overseas trade and the victories of the English navy abroad. Thus, political rivalry and party propaganda increased the popularity of journalism, a method of communication which was to help establish travel accounts and other foreign news as popular news items.

There is yet another factor which accounts for the growth of journalism and its popularization of foreign news items during this period--the declining interest in drama. Much as this observation stands in danger of being over-emphasized, the fact cannot be ignored that the increasing popularity of journalism as an effective method of communication was gradually overshadowing the power of the stage. During the reign of Charles II, drama was overtly patronized and supervised by the government, and monopoly of theatrical productions was held by playwrights who had been favoured with special concessions from the king himself. Therefore most of the dramatic presentations had political themes, usually in celebration of the monarchy and the court. It cannot be denied that political themes in drama persisted after Charles II. Even after 1688, political rivalries were blatantly acted out on the stage amidst booing and other offensive behaviour. The audience, who were mostly active members of the opposing parties, had been schooled in political rivalry for too long to learn to be subtle in their appreciation of plays like Cato, which were far removed from party conflicts. Cato, as Leo Hughes suggests, was

> . . . actually unique in being . . . so ingeniously contrived as to elicit the same kind of response from both its supporters and opponents. It was designed to favour the Whigs and was loudly applauded by them, but the Tories could not in good grace protest over speeches in praise of liberty.[4]

John Loftis is more precise about the non-partisan intentions of Addison in writing Cato:

> The play itself, despite its theme of political liberty, provides no sure clue to Addison's intentions beyond establishing the fact that he had no blatant propagandistic motive . . . . [In] its emphasis on opposition to tyranny, the theme of the play is far more compatible with the traditional position of the Whigs than of the Tories. But the Tory position was changing.[5]

Colley Cibber emphasizes this same point in his An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber:

> . . . the sublime sentiments of liberty in that venerable character rais'd in every sensible heart such conscious admiration, such compell'd assent to the conduct of a suffering virtue, as even demanded two almost irreconciliable parties to embrace and join in their equal applauses of it.[6]

Unfortunately, not everyone in the audience was an objective critic, and several people regarded the play as a celebration of Whig policies. The reception of Cato revealed the audience's political prejudices. The existence of political themes in drama was, furthermore, reflected in the patterns of political allegiance in the Drury Lane and Lincoln's-Inn-Fields theatres, the one Whig and and the other Tory. In short, there existed an established tradition of political drama which could not be destroyed overnight.

Paradoxically, it was this very situation which, aggravated by the lewd scenes and profane language of comedies, made reformation of the stage seem imperative. Immorality was the immediate justification of the reform movement. It is not easy to apportion blame for this unfortunate situation. Some literary writers have blamed the relationship between dramatists and patrons who in the period just before the revolution were mostly unprincipled courtiers.

The plays necessarily reflected what was suspected to be the immoral tendencies of the patrons. Others have blamed the audience whose appreciation of drama was a strong influence in the theatre. The over-enthusiasm and offensive conduct matched the obscenity and blasphemy in the actions and in the themes in the plays. Soon, reformers, most of them men of the church, began to argue that deterioration in stage morality was fast spilling out into the streets and affecting the whole nation. In 1698, the Reverend Jeremy Collier published A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage: Together with the Sense of Antiquity Upon this Argument. He focused his attack on the works of Wycherley, D'Urfey, Dryden, Vanbrugh and Congreve. He justified his statements with excerpts from the classical plays of Greece and Rome, presenting them as void of the profanity and blasphemy which seemed to pervade English plays. His argument is that:

> . . . the business of Plays is to recommend Virtue and discountenance Vice. To Shew the Uncertainty of Humane Greatness, the suddain Turns of Fate, and the Unhappy Conclusions of Violence and Injustice: 'Tis to expose the Singularities of Prudency and Fancy, to make Folly and Falsehoods contemptible, and to bring every Thing that is Ill under Infamy and Neglect.[7]

However, he continues, ". . . it appears that the Present English Stage is superlatively Scandalous. It exceeds the liberties of all Tories and Countries."[8] Whatever he had to say about the abuses on the stage he said in very strong language. He was joined in his attacks by others such as Arthur Bedford, another clergyman who, in 1706, published

A Serious Remonstrance in Behalf of the Christian Religion Against the Horrid Blasphemies and Impieties Which Are Still Used in the English Playhouse. He accused dramatists of restoring pagan worship by their reference to pagan gods and encouraging the practice of witchcraft.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.),[9] established in 1699 out of the interest in the reformation of the lower classes, played an important role in the creation of a general awareness of the need for moral reformation, the stage included. It was a voluntary organization among whose concerns were the education of poor children as well as the "provision of religious literature for Adults."[10] Consequently, the moral deterioration of drama would be unlikely to escape its reforming touch. One of its strong supporters was Richard Steele, whose plays made subtle attempts to redirect the moral effects of plays. He also wrote several essays on the same topic. Defoe, in his characteristic blunt and uncompromising tone, denounced the "houses of sin and the nurseries of vice, the theatres and the playhouses," and offered suggestions towards stage reformation in the Review. A September issue of his journal proposed "a project to suppress the stage."[11] This trend was reflected, on a slightly different level, in Addison's light and humourous satire on the offensive conduct of the "Trunkmaker in the Upper Gallery."[12]

The strength of all these attacks and the apparent substitution for court patronage of Parliamentary

appreciation of good taste and decorum, did not, as I have already suggested, result in a complete disappearance of drama. Indeed, its popularity continued into the 1730's when John Gay's The Beggar's Opera and Fielding's satirical and political plays caused such an uproar that the vague censorship of the stage, which had been loosely endorsed by the Act of Anne in 1704 prohibiting certain activities in the theatre, resulted in the proscription of plays by the Licensing Act of 1737. Although there were definite attempts to purge offensiveness from plays,[13] and there was some display of decorum, drama had lost some of its original appeal. The new interest in journalism was to prove the most effective method of popularizing foreign news.

Journalism experienced a gradual but stable growth at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It made its early appearance in the first decade of the eighteenth century in the form of newsbooks which carried reports on Parliamentary proceedings, special correspondence with the reading public, and advertisements. Eager party activists, constantly trying to outwit their opponents, turned to newspapers and pamphlets as instruments of party propaganda. The first daily newspaper, the Daily Courant, appeared in 1709 and was soon followed by several others including Steele's Tatler, and his and Addison's Spectator. Newspapers and periodicals, which gained a lot of encouragement from the pens of talented writers such as Defoe, Addison and Steele, provided a larger scope, not only for the discussion of political

subjects, but also the reporting of English contact with the outside world.

Another important catalyst in the growing appeal of journalism was the removal of restrictions from the publishing industry. The removal of restrictions made the book trade more attractive to both printers and writers. But there were certain features about the form of journalism which made that method of communication extremely popular at this time. Flexibility of form allowed for the delineation of a large variety of topics including politics, treatment of servants, marriage, opera, the latest fashions in women's dresses, travel and other foreign news. Whether reflective, critical, descriptive or sketchy, journalism was able to capture the contemporary scene vividly. In an age of widespread illiteracy and a relatively bad system of transportation,[14] newspapers and periodicals reached a very large audience. The S.P.C.K.'s educational program had resulted in increased literacy among the lower classes. More people were eager to read for leisure and for social improvement. In effect, a new reading public was coming into existence which writers of newspapers and periodicals sought to attract. Unlike plays, newspapers could be perused more carefully in the privacy of homes and in the comfortable social environment of coffeehouses and other meeting places. As well, difficulties of distribution were gradually being solved by delivery systems based upon agents and newsmen. And with increased public involvement in national

affairs, the great campaign of William III against Louis XIV, the ever-imminent threat of French invasion, the doubts entertained by many people as to the permanency of the Revolution Settlement, external trade and local gossip created a demand for news items which were not restricted to London.

England's political and economic contacts with Europe and other parts of the world had a special appeal to readers, who were gradually becoming aware of England's relationship with the rest of the world through William's foreign policies and increased trade. Several writers, including Defoe, wrote copiously to satisfy this demand. In his Review, a newspaper which was basically political, Defoe continually justified England's wars with France:

> We do not fight against France as a kingdom, or against the king of France as a king, no, nor as a tyrant insulting the liberties of his own subjects; but we fight against France as a kingdom grown too great for her neighbours, and against the king of France as an invader of other nations' rights, and an oppression of the common liberties of Europe. And we fight to reduce his exhorbitant power; and this consists in that very little understood but very popular and extensive word, a balance of power.[15]

The passage above is a carefully planned explication of French aggression and of the necessity of English action against this aggression. His justification is a clear reference to his overall aim in the Review which is stated in several issues of his newspaper, "to open the Eyes of the deluded People, and set them to rights in the things in which they are impos'd upon," but it is also an attempt to

make the English people more aware of their international position. It is with a tone of respect and with plain language that he appeals to the patriotic instincts of Englishmen. The repetition of the word "fight" is a rhetorical device emphasizing the necessity of containing French aggression. This justification is also a subtle attempt at creating the impression of a united Europe against a common enemy. England had an obligation to promote peace and stability at home and within the international community. Such were the glimpses that journalists frequently gave readers into the nature of the outside world. If the development of journalism, the rise of the mercantile class with its attendant increase in overseas trade, and William's foreign policies increased the English people's awareness of the foreign and therefore played an important role in the development of both non-fiction travel literature and travel fiction, the religious and social contact which England maintained with Europe proved to be another catalyst in this development.

The success of political and economic contact with the outside world, as already discussed, encouraged leisure trips, undertaken by sons of wealthy men and young talented scholars such as Joseph Addison. These trips were usually in the form of sightseeing tours of Europe, and unlike the voyages undertaken by merchants, were not confined to any specific activity or duty. These two forms of travelling produced an abundance of non-fiction travel literature, and these varieties of foreign contact, the

growth of journalism and its influence in the publication and popularization of foreign news and the increase in readership, provided a fertile ground for the nurture of travel literature. The public's eagerness to be acquainted with the unknown popularized travel as an important topic in journalism. Writers persistently educated readers in the causes of England's military missions abroad, and material for this was usually provided by men who had seen action during these missions. This method of educating the public was very important to the government of the day which sought support for its military policies. Nothing hindered them from taking action without public approval, but, as I have already suggested, this was a period during which public opinion was very much appreciated. The activities of merchants recorded in their log books also provided information on foreign lands, in this case about more distant and totally unfamiliar places such as Asia and Africa. Writers, taking advantage of the growing appeal of journalism with its lucidity, relatively fast and easy circulation, and the ability to capture in written form current events, made it possible for readers to be more aware of the world in which they lived. Travel stories in literary journals encouraged comparisons between England and the rest of the world, and were aimed at accommodating factions at home and making the nation more appreciative of their government and their environment. Instances of religious and cultural propagandistic bias in these travel accounts did not prevent

Englishmen from learning more about the world outside.

There also emerged a clearer distinction between two main types of non-fiction travel literature on Europe, and on Africa and more distant parts of the world. The distinction is important in the study of the development of travel fiction out of non-fiction travel literature in general and non-fiction travel literature of Africa in particular, since travel fiction made use of some of the features of both forms of non-fiction travel literature for purposes which will be studied in the following chapter.

CHAPTER I

The goals and destinations of the two main categories of travellers affected the form and content of their travel records, causing the development of peculiar features which writers of travel fiction appropriated for fictional purposes. Travelling in Europe was a leisure activity undertaken by the wealthy and by sponsored scholars who usually confined their journeys to well travelled routes and tourist attractions. The travel reports published by these travellers made Europe physically attractive to future travellers and mentally accessible to readers. Voyages to other continents, such as Africa, were usually undertaken by merchants, navigators and missionaries who came face to face with an entirely unfamiliar culture. The unfamiliarity of Africa, its people and its culture, and the physical distance between England and Africa provided these travellers with a freedom to manipulate their narrative and descriptive material on Africa, which writers of non-fiction travel literature on Europe did not have due to the proximity of the countries they described to the home country.

Despite these differences in form and content, non-fiction travel books on Europe and on Africa have one important similarity--plotlessness. Neither of the two

genres is controlled by literary plot. The course of their narrative is determined mainly by the relative value of geographical places which demands an encyclopedic survey of subjects. The plotlessness of non-fiction travel literature on Europe, such as Joseph Addison's Remarks on Italy, is obscured because the well travelled routes provide some sort of geographical plot. Non-fiction travel literature on Africa had no plot in terms of established geographical knowledge since there were neither familiar routes nor authentic information about the interior part of Africa. The total plotlessness of non-fiction travel literature on Africa encouraged the creation of imaginary geographical plots in fiction. The plotlessness in non-fiction travel literature, which allowed for the manipulation of historical and geographical facts, is best illustrated by a comparison of these two main categories of non-fiction travel literature.

Travellers who went on pleasure trips, such as sightseeing tours to Europe, soon established the Grand Tour as a popular form of pleasure trip in the eighteenth century. Some of them were keenly interested in recording their travel experiences, and their records were very useful as tourist guides. Such writers placed particular emphasis on tourist attractions, familiar routes and comfortable accommodation. The more comprehensive records of these writers usually included valuable information on people, their mannerisms and the peculiarities of their environment.

The value of these travel records is revealed in the importance the eighteenth century attached to travelling to European countries such as France and Italy. The tour was considered an important part of a young man's education. With a little patronage from influential members of the government, promising young men from Oxford or Cambridge had the opportunity to interact with Europeans, visit famous institutions and learn to appreciate fine art.

One such young man was Joseph Addison whose Remarks on Italy, appearing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, gave a boost to the popularity of non-fiction travel literature. Two main factors which account for the popularity of Remarks on Italy are Addison's literary achievements in Oxford and the unique style of the essay. His personality and his reputation as a poet and scholar invested him with considerable authority for his public role as a writer. In his writings, including Remarks on Italy, he did not just cater to the literary tastes of the highly educated; he realized the necessity of balancing sensational literary effects with more serious literary forms in order to involve the newly literate in reading for instruction as well as for pleasure. The importance which Addison, and Richard Steele, his good friend and fellow writer, attached to the education and the entertainment of the reading public is reflected in their ideas about travelling and travel literature, which they exposed in the Spectator. The importance of travel literature as a pleasurable form of instruction is explicitly

expressed in a letter to Mr. Spectator by Philip Homebred, a concerned gentleman. He contends that some of the reasons for visiting foreign parts are:

> . . . to look into their customs and policies, and observe in what particulars they excel or come short of our own; to unlearn some odd peculiarities in our manners, and wear off such awkward stiffness and affectations in our behaviour as may possibly have been contracted from constantly associating with one nation of men, by a more free, general and mixed conversation.[1]

He continues:

> Another end of travelling which deserves to be considered is the improving of our taste of the best authors of antiquity by seeing the places where they lived and of which they wrote, to compare the natural face of the country with the description they have given us, and observe how well the picture agrees with the original.[2]

Several contemporary writers shared Addison's sentiments about travel and travel writing as an important form of education. Although the expression of these sentiments by other eighteenth century writers was often ironical or satirical, these forms of literary expressions were deliberate methods of attacking the abuse of travel and of making travel literature a more educative form of reading material. This is Gulliver's point in his discussion of his aim in describing his travels:

> I could perhaps like others have astonished thee with strange improbable tales; but I rather chose to relate plain matter, a fact of the simplest manner and style, because my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.
>
> It is easy for us who travel into remote countries, which are seldom visited by

> Englishmen or other Europeans, to form descriptions of wonderful animals both at sea and land. Whereas a traveller's chief aim should be to make men wiser and better and to improve their minds by the bad as well as the good example of what they deliver concerning foreign places.[3]

Jonathan Swift's narrator is also indignant about the imposition of these "falsities on the unwary reader." Other writers such as Laurence Sterne and Alexander Pope were just as enthusiastic in their condemnation of the abuse of the educative value of travel; both writers reacted fiercely against the publication of "strange and improbable tales," attacking the gross exaggerations of travel writers. Sterne parodies the content of contemporary travel literature in Tristram Shandy:

> I cannot stop a moment to give you the character of the people--their genius--their manners--their customs--their laws--their religion--their government--their manufacturers--their commerce--their finances, with all the resources and hidden essays which sustain them: qualified as I may be, by spending three days, and two nights, amongst them, and during all the time, making these things the entire subject of my enquiries and reflections.[4]

In this passage and in Chapter VII of Tristram Shandy, Sterne attacks the falsities and exaggerations of travel accounts. However, he is not as indignant as Pope is in his denunciation of human degradation in his portrayal of the young traveller in The Dunciad. This young gentleman, who has pursued his education by means of a European tour, has dissipated all his talents by engaging in "every vice on Christian ground," and he returns home "[with] nothing but

a Solo in his head."[5] It is an uncompromising portrait of a young man stripped of all natural talents by travel experiences. Pope was protesting the corruption effected by influences which young travellers gathered from French and Italian cities. Such satire of travel and travel literature implies the norms that most writers wanted to be associated with travel and travel literature. This general concern for the "purification" of travelling and travel writing for the purpose of pleasurable instruction was shared by Addison too. Therefore, in Remarks on Italy, Addison sought to obviate the misuse of travel and travel literature and to recommend the genre as a medium for instruction and entertainment.

A study of the characteristics of non-fiction travel literature on Europe in general, and of Remarks on Italy in particular, illustrates the deficiencies of non-fiction travel literature on Africa as a reliable method of individual and national education, and shows how writers of fiction set in Africa manipulated historical and geographical facts on Africa to make up for these deficiencies. Remarks on Italy underlines the advantages of travel literature as a medium for instruction and entertainment. Its informal tone is impressive and this plays an important role in capturing and maintaining the attention of a wide variety of readers. The narrative voice, which is confident and authoritative, is founded on all the advantages of a mind broadened by good education. The humour with which superstitions and other

interesting phenomena are described helps establish a cordial relationship between the author and reader. These features form the basis for the comprehensive discussion of a wide variety of subjects which, though they reveal political, social and religious prejudices, do not destroy the essential purpose of pleasurable instruction.

The variety of subjects in Remarks on Italy is a result of both physical and literary digressions. On several occasions Addison leaves the main route of his journey to visit smaller towns which have been of no interest to other travellers, but which, as Addison reveals, are of historical or geographical interest. On his way to Rome, he branches off to visit the little town of St. Marino to which he devotes a whole chapter. He cannot help but visit St. Marino,

> . . . though it lies out of the common tour of travellers, and has excessively bad ways to it. I shall here give a particular account of it, because I know of nobody else who has done it. One may at least have the pleasure of seeing in it something more singular than can be found in great governments, and form from it an idea of Venice in its first beginnings, when it had only a few heaps of earth for its dominions, or of Rome itself, when it had as yet covered but one of its seven hills.[6]

This digression is similar to his visit to the Isle of Caprea,[7] during the narration of which he provides reasons for the inaccessibility of the Isle and the probable reasons why no traveller has bothered to write about it. These digressions, in emphasizing the interrelatedness of subjects, reveal the universality of political and social values. The

study of the singular or the particular, as his reasons for visiting St. Marino imply, may reveal the fundamental elements of the general. This movement from the particular to the general, from the peculiar to the universal, which is absent from non-fiction travel literature on Africa because of the depth of cultural prejudices and the insistence on the physical distance of Africa from Europe, was to become an important generic characteristic of travel fiction. In Remarks on Italy, Addison illustrates this relationship between the particular and the general in his portrayal of the interrelatedness of political and cultural ideas.

Thus the various discussions of natural science, literature and art, religion and politics are woven into a series of literary digressions, each one related to the other. Topical digressions are necessary requirements in the examination of the multiple facets of one place. And so a discussion of the natural environment of a town inevitably leads to the description of how the environment effects peculiarities in the political and social life. Addison's main reason for his detailed description of the Italian landscape, for example, is to correct wrong impressions created by travel writers, to reveal the relationship that exists between the environment and the lives of the people who live within that environment, and to encourage comparisons between England and Italy. This relationship between the environment and the people is clearly represented by the taming of nature by art in St. Remo which is

seen as a providential act. Houses are built along the shore to block the strong winds that blow in from the sea; and so there are "several persons that in the midst of December had nothing over their shoulders but their shirt, without complaining of the cold."[8] Addison sees in this great convenience a "natural benefit" to both the people and the government, in the absence of which "the extreme misery and poverty that are in most of the Italian governments would be unsupportable."[9] A natural convenience is immediately interpreted in terms of its political and social benefits. The interrelatedness of subjects is disclosed in other descriptions of natural phenomena peculiar to other Italian towns. The idleness of Neopolitans is caused, not only by the wealth of the subjects, but also by "the temper of their climate, that relaxes the fibres of their bodies, and disposes the people to such an idle indolent humour."[10] Addison also attributes the autonomy of Italian states to a natural phenomenon:

> . . . indeed, if a man considers the face of Italy in general, one would think that nature had laid it out into such a variety of states and governments as one finds it in. For as the Alps at one end, and the long range of Appennines, that passes through the body of it, branch out on all sides into several different diversions; they serve as so many natural boundaries and fortifications to the little territories that lie among them.[11]

This general geographical description of Italy not only provides reasons for the autonomy of Italian states but also justifies, though indirectly, Addison's emphasis on the variety of pleasurable instruction that journeys, even along

the most travelled routes, afford.

In Remarks on Italy, the natural environment is one of the many important subjects in the study of the history of the land and the lives of its inhabitants. The description and criticism of Italian literature and art provide the study with variety, and are invitations to the reader to compare, objectively, the forms of Italian literature and art with those in England. He expresses his admiration for the "celebrated smoothness" of the Italian tongue, which has "something beautiful and sonorous in the expression amidst all the meanness and familiarity of the thoughts."[12] He justifies his preference with a comparison with English and French poetic language which, due to their use of the

> . . . same words in verse as in ordinary conversation, are forced to raise their language with metaphors and figures, or by the pompousness of the whole phrase, to wear off any littleness that appears in the particular parts that compose it.[13]

Italian comedies, however, "are very different, and more lewd than those in other countries,"[14] and the poets, in their zeal to make the audience merry, fall into the "most filthy double meanings imaginable."[15] The ancient literature of the Italians is inseparable from Italian art. Addison's discussion of this interrelatedness shows his respect for the tradition of ancient Italian literature which he quotes copiously in Remarks on Italy. The description of Italian antiquities, the origin and meaning of which Addison clarifies with passages from the works of ancient poets, shows the close relationship between Italian literature and art;

it also reveals Addison's historical and antiquarian interests in travel. In one of such descriptions, he recalls Juvenal's description of Jupiter with a beard which uncovers the true identity of this Roman god's statue; and he quotes Horace to show the significance of the deliberate baring of neck and arms by Roman sculptors. Some of these art works are emblems of the history of the town in which they may be found. The antiquities in Rome, for example, reveal two main divisions in the city--the modern and the ancient Rome. The antiquities of

> . . . the former, though of a fresher date, are so embroiled with fable and legend, that one receives but little satisfaction from searching into them. The other give a great deal of pleasure to such as have met with them before in ancient authors; for a man who is in Rome, can scarce see an object that does not call to mind a piece of a Latin poet or historian.[16]

The main point is that the juxtaposition of these antiquities with contemporary Italian art reveals how Rome has evolved in time, geographically and culturally.

Addison's discussion of the Italian attitude to religion reveals the inseparability of Italian art, ancient and pagan beliefs, and Christian practices. It is another disclosure of Addison's antiquarian interest in travel despite the pagan tradition of most of the antiquities. Unlike the superstitious antiquarian interests of the Milanese who collect teeth and bones of dubious saints as religious relics, Addison's antiquarian interests are mainly cultural. Therefore his suspicion of the influence families, religious

orders and churches have on canonization rises above the potential conflicts between Italian paganism and Christianity. His criticism of the collection of "religious" antiquities is focused on the hypocrisy of the members of the Catholic church rather than on the institution itself, since it would otherwise constitute a partiality which would destroy his role as a reliable observer. He suggests, in his revelation of the secret reformation spreading through the Roman Catholic church due to the influence of Protestantism,[17] an antidote to this Catholic superstition. Prejudiced though his criticisms may be, they do not affect his acknowledgement of the educative value of the religious tradition of Italy. The recognition of the faults in Italian religious institutions acts as an important stimulant for readers' comparison with English religious institutions unlike in non-fiction travel literature on Africa. In non-fiction travel literature on Africa, political and cultural institutions were written off as inferior to similar institutions in Europe, since travellers lacked the anthropological sense necessary for the comprehension of these African institutions. This attitude of writers of non-fiction travel literature on Africa formed part of the image Africa gained abroad, and constituted a major difference between the two main categories of travel literature on Europe and on Africa.

When Addison does criticize the Catholic institution itself, it is only for its indirect hindrance of the

political and cultural development of the people. His opinion is that the church should be restricted to its sacred sphere to avoid a division of loyalties among Italians and avert a possible clash between the church and the government. He illustrates this hindrance with a description of the Vatican:

> . . . there is not a more miserable people in Europe than the Pope's subjects. His state is thin of inhabitants, and a great part of his soil is uncultivated. His subjects are wretchedly poor and idle, and have neither sufficient manufacturers nor traffic to employ them. These ill effects may rise, in a great measure, out of the arbitrariness of the government, but I think that they are chiefly to be ascribed to the very genius of the Roman Catholic religion, which here shows its effects to perfection . . . . To speak truly, they are here so wholly taken up with men's souls that they neglect the good of their bodies.[18]

The church rules the lives of the people so much that they cannot be worldly or political when they should be. This results in a situation of unhealthy tension between church and state and hinders the practical material development of the Pope's subjects.

In his description of Italy and in his discussion of the political, social, economic and cultural lives of the people, Addison is, occasionally, prejudicial. His criticism of Italian faults usually reveals a strong preference for English institutions and mannerisms; however these faults are presented by Addison as worth knowing and educative. Furthermore, his informal tone, the topical digressions which allow for the discussion of a variety of subjects, and the comparisons and criticisms which, though they reveal

literary, social and religious prejudices, do not destroy the educative value of travel literature, underline the purpose of Addison's Remarks on Italy in particular and of non-fiction travel literature on Europe in general.

Non-fiction travel literature on Africa, as we shall presently see, was not as objective in its presentation of historical and geographical facts about Africa as non-fiction travel literature on Europe was in its treatment of European countries. Perhaps the differences may be attributed to the sort of travellers who kept travel reports, the difficult task of writing about a virtually unknown continent, and the physical difference between the travellers and the people they came into contact with in Africa. The merchants, navigators and the missionaries who travelled to Africa, unlike the sons of wealthy Englishmen and young scholars who travelled around Europe, were hardened travellers most of whom had only their courage and their business acumen to depend on. Thus most of the travelogues are direct reports of their experiences with lots of exaggeration and little reflection. Their encounter with this unique continent and its people only seemed to confirm what ancient and contemporary travel writers had written about Africa; the presence of a few negroes in London during the eighteenth century was hardly enough evidence to solve the mystery surrounding the dark continent with its dark coloured people.

When Herodotus compiled an account of conditions in Africa describing horned asses, men with dog's heads and with eyes in their chest, little did he realize the effect this would have on the curious minds of the European adventurers and writers of non-fiction and fiction travel literature. As late as the fifteenth century his legends about the "wonders" of Africa were popularized by translation into English. European writers in the period before the Portuguese arrival in Africa based most of their writings about Africa on such classical sources. Contemporary factual accounts were very scarce.

In the seventeenth century, Englishmen were involved in several unsuccessful expeditions to Africa to exploit its legendary mountains of gold. Some of the travellers kept accounts of their experiences. One of them is Richard Jobson who published the record of his voyage to West Africa in 1620; his book was called The Golden Trade. This book, while largely descriptive, includes sensational and legendary ideas about Africa. There are the rivers which abound in man-eating crocodiles, and the natives who are "markt under both their eyes, with three blew stroakes."[19] One of the most detailed and fascinating portraits in Jobson's book is of the tribe whose people had "great lippes":

> . . . the reason why these people will not be seene is for, that they are naturally borne, with their lower lippe of that greatnesse . . . and covers the greater part of their bosome and remains with that rawness on the side that hangs downe, that through the occasion of the Sunne's extreme heat, it is still subject to putrification, so as they have no means to

> preserve themselves, but by continual casting salt upon it.[20]

With their emphasis on some of the bizarre peculiarities about people who were virtually unknown and whose culture seemed to be totally different, such stories were certainly sensational and had a great appeal to English readers.

In the eighteenth century, there were a number of reliable accounts about travel to Africa. At least, there was a sense of the writer's tendency to be as objective as could be expected in these "strange" circumstances. William Bosman, a Dutchman, published a book about his experiences in Africa, a book called Description of the Coast of Guinea, in 1705, which was translated into English during the first decade of the eighteenth century. He established his reliability with his denunciation of falsities and exaggerations in travel literature in general. He was surprised at the vast difference between travel reports on Africa and what he saw and experienced on his arrival in the continent. He

> . . . quickly took a distaste at such authors as paulm'd precarious reports upon the world as certain Truths; and having never stirred out of their native country, take all for the truth that is handed down to 'em from Abroad, and recommend it as such to the World.[21]

His description of the African landscape, of the fertile valleys and the unwholesomeness of the coast, and of the people who are sometimes "all without Exception Crafty, Villainous and Fraudulent" and at other times very friendly, is similar to the descriptions of other English travel writers such as William Snelgrave and John Atkins.

Snelgrave's A New Account of Guinea (1734) has several descriptive passages about the fertile soil of West Africa which, he says, was very well cultivated by the natives. He also describes the intense hostility of the natives along the coast toward the Europeans, and regards this hostility as one of the major factors which initially discouraged exploration of the African hinterland.[22] John Atkins' A Voyage to Guinea (1735) examines some of the factors that made Africa an attractive subject to European travellers and travel writers. He says of the continent in general:

> As there is nothing more surprising and delightful in Voyages and Travels, than beholding the different Natives; so there is none I believe, where that Difference can be found so much as here. A Colour, Language and Manners, as wide from ours as we may imagine we should find in the Planetary Subjects above, could we get there.[23]

He also mentions the unique colour of the African skin:

> The Black colour, the woolly Tegument of these Guineans, is what first obtrudes itself on our observation and distinguishes them from the rest of mankind, who no where else in the warmest Latitudes, are seen thus totally changed.[24]

The African's physique, family structure and tribal life, all needed explanation as well as description. In the telling, however, an image of Africa was conveyed to the English reader which often owed as much to the values and biases of the writer as it did to the African reality. It was startling, this contrast between the cultural values symbolized in black and white terminology, and this made the impact of Africa on England so immediate and deep. The

differences between black and white culture were swiftly seized on by creative Englishmen as an intellectual challenge which offered great literary and dramatic potential.

These travel reports and several others became some of the sources of information for creative writers; the errors and fantasies of these works are responsible for the perpetuation of inaccuracies and biases in fictional works. The African as a part of mythology, rather than the African as he really lived, entered into the consciousness and the daily considerations of the English.

It is obvious from this brief analysis of these two categories of non-fiction travel literature that their contents had a great appeal for readers. It was this appeal that writers of fiction seized upon. With the success of journalism in popularizing non-fiction travel literature, newpapers and periodicals became effective instruments in drawing readers' attention to the generic expectations of travel and travel literature. In non-fiction travel literature, the presentation of the unfamiliar had been a good method of attracting and maintaining audience attention and interest; in travel fiction the unfamiliar was used in the exposition of a moral thesis. Moreoever, writers of travel fiction discovered, inherent in the variety of topics discussed in non-fiction travel literature, allegorical, moral and philosophical ideas which could be used in the exposition of specific themes and arguments. Travel itself was an important metaphor for the quest for

knowledge; in religious terms it was a preparation for eternal life. An individual journey, therefore, could easily be translated in metaphorical terms as man's journey through life in search of knowledge about himself and the world in which he lived.

The popularity of fiction travel literature did not develop from only non-fiction travel literature; it was given great impetus by the publication of Oriental stories such as the Arabian Nights and the Persian Tales during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the setting of which was as remote from Europe as Africa was. These tales presented fantastic settings and improbable dimensions of plot. With the appearance of these features in fiction travel literature, it was easy to distinguish non-fiction from fiction travel literature. The former can be distinguished by its loose structure and its realistic representation of the people and the landscape. Fiction travel literature has a tighter structure woven around a specific theme.

Fiction travel writers often plagiarized the works of real travel writers and moulded this material into the purely imaginary, or utopian kind of travel fiction. In such instances, there were no attempts on the part of the writer to deceive readers about the authenticity of his facts. The overt use of plot and improbable characterization and scenery heightened the sense of immediacy in the readers' involvement with the fictional characters. Into this category falls Gulliver's Travels as well as several

Oriental tales which appeared in eighteenth century newspapers. Addison's short story of Shalum and Hilpa[25] illustrates the features of this category of travel fiction. It has no travel plot, but the story is set in a distant land. Its improbable dimensions of plot are a deliberate method of enlarging the story, as in a portrait, for the readers' easy perusal. Such tales helped establish a distinction between non-fiction and fiction travel literature. The former was a mere documentation of travel experiences which invited political, social and cultural comparisons between the home country and the foreign places visited; travel fiction was defined by the use of plot and setting and its inclusion of a moral thesis. Travel fiction in general, and travel fiction set in Africa in particular, unlike non-fiction travel literature on Europe, did not help readers to decide where to go or what to see; it aimed at an entertaining literary exposition of moral ideas and conformed to the philosophy of the age. These differences established a clearer distinction between the two genres and allowed for the development of travel fiction in such books as Daniel Defoe's Captain Singleton and Samuel Johnson's Rasselas.

CHAPTER II

Although there were plenty of established facts about coastal Africa, the absence of authentic geographical details about central Africa created a gap in the knowledge about the continent as a whole. This gap provided a unique opportunity for writers of travel fiction to invent a tightly structured literary plot based on the knowledge of the coastal areas. It also allowed almost unlimited freedom for the writer of travel fiction to manipulate geographical detail in an inventive way. Taking advantage of this freedom, writers of travel fiction were able to incorporate such literary genres as spiritual autobiography to emphasize such things as the possible metaphorical value of the journey plot.

Daniel Defoe's Captain Singleton illustrates the distinction between the plotlessness of non-fiction travel literature on Africa and the deliberate control of plot in travel fiction with a central African setting. Defoe creates a fictional plot based on the coastal geographical descriptions of Africa, emphasizing imaginary geographical routes in the interior. This subtle blend of geographical description and literary inventiveness demands a constant oscillation between geographical details appropriated from

non-fiction travel literature on Africa on the one hand and the metaphorical treatment of the journey plot on the other. The geographical discoveries of real travellers are re-enacted by Defoe's travellers, and these discoveries are meant to stimulate comparisons--as they do in non-fiction travel literature on Africa. The discoveries emphasize the dissimilarities between the known and the unknown. These dissimilarities presuppose the inferiority of the culture of the unknown.

Defoe's creation of a literary plot and his deliberate mapping out of the travellers' journey do not only re-enact, fictionally, the discoveries of actual travellers, and encourage comparisons. They are also important literary characteristics of travel fiction which facilitate the incorporation of the genre of spiritual autobiography. This incorporation allows for the metaphorical interpretation of the journey plot during which process discoveries, and moral values associated with them, should mark the travellers' moral progress. In Captain Singleton, these generic expectations of travel literature and spiritual autobiography to inform and to reform, to imbue the individual with knowledge about himself and the world, are defeated. Inherent in this defeat is Defoe's criticism of the absence of moral obligations which should form a necessary part of the travel of exploration and exploitation. Singleton fails to spiritualize his journey; he fails to apply traditional spiritual metaphors to his journey to help him interpret his actions

in relation to his native land and the world through which he travels. At the end of his journey, he has only succeeded in reporting for the reader a series of awesome experiences and geographical discoveries that merely satisfy the reader's curiosity about this mysterious continent.

Defoe's indebtedness to authentic facts about the coastal parts of Africa cannot be over-emphasized. The non-fiction travel literature on Africa that was published in the eighteenth century had very little information about the inland parts of Africa because of the inaccessibility of these parts. This was mainly due to unfavourable geographical conditions along the coast. Therefore, reports by merchants and navigators consisted of their experiences with the land and the tribes in the coastal regions. Some of the well known travellers to Africa, such as William Snelgrave, John Atkins and William Bosman, confirm this fact with the suggestive titles of their travel books, for instance, A New Account of Guinea, A Voyage to Guinea and The Description of the Coast of Guinea. Their accounts include the description of the landscape and the natural dispositions of the people they came into contact with along the coast. Occasionally, they generalize their reports to include the inland areas as well because they probably believed that there was no reason why central Africa had to be populated by people and animals any different from those they had seen on the coast. Such conjectures were taken for granted by readers of non-fiction travel literature on

Africa. One could say that at the time the inhabitants of the Gold Coast, for example, very well represented the people of Africa in general. The eagerness of both readers and writers of fiction and non-fiction travel literature on Africa to know what the interior of Africa was like resulted in the imaginary construction of inland Africa from what was known about the more easily accessible coastal parts of Africa.

This imaginary geographical construction of inland Africa seems to have appealed to the artistic instincts of Defoe; it must have played an important role in the composition of parts of The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe and Captain Singleton. That the appeal of travel narratives had a strong hold on Defoe's imagination is no surprise since he was a keen traveller himself. Throughout his life he wrote books and pamphlets on both real and imaginary voyages. His Review was mostly concerned with England's relationship with France and the rest of the world. He was an avid supporter of William's foreign policy, especially his protection of Protestantism in Europe. He wrote repeatedly on this subject to underline the necessity of William's military actions abroad, particularly those in France.[1] In his essays he sought to appeal to the patriotic instincts of Englishmen in support of William's foreign military policy. The Review also aired his commercial interests in foreign countries. He believed that natural resources in places such as Africa needed to be exploited for the benefit of

Englishmen whenever feasible. Incidentally, his newspaper articles on foreign trade encouraged various methods of financing commercial enterprise. In these instances, Defoe's reports on travel, whether for the purpose of war or for trade, provided readers with an interesting variety of foreign news items.

Defoe did not only write about England's military and commercial interests in the outside world; he was constantly aware of the most current issues of non-fiction travel literature on Europe, Africa and other parts of the world. The Review carried several advertisements of newly published non-fiction travel literature such as:

> A trip to Portugal; or a view of their strength by Sea and Land; an exact list of their Forces; with the Names of their Regimental Officers; the Situation of the Frontier Towns, and the true Prospect of their fortifications to which is added, a Catalogue of their Kings; of the Places they were born in; the length of their several Reigns, and the days of their death; Also the manner of their Internments. In a letter from a Volunteer at Lisbon, to his Friend in London. Sold by John Mutt near Stationers-Hall, price 1s.[2]

News about foreign countries compiled from correspondence, usually between the traveller and the writer--in this case "his Friend in London"--was very common. The same newspaper advertized a more ambitious work on Tuesday, June 1, 1708:

> Lately published, A New Description of the World, delineating Europe, Asia, Africa and America; with a map and Tales of the Empires, Kingdoms, Provinces, and Cities therein, together with a Chronological and Historical Account of the Emperors, Kings, Princes, Governments, Religion, Languages, Customs, Commodities, Revolutions and Rarities thereof. By H. Curson, Gent. Sold by John Morphew.

These two advertisements also imply Defoe's interest in detail, a tendency which was to help him achieve a high degree of verisimilitude in several of his adventure stories.

The large number of travel books discovered in Defoe's library reveals his direct contact with, and his interest in, foreign places. Available to him were the reports on J. Albert de Mandelso by Samuel Purchas, and Robert Knox's reports on Madagascar; Richard Haklyut's account of his trip to Africa; and John Ogilby and William Dampier's travel narrative on Africa which provided readers with maps of the continent as well. Arthur Wellesley Secord's detailed discussion of the possible sources of Defoe's travel narratives,[4] such as Robinson Crusoe and Captain Singleton, confirms the evidence of Defoe's knowledge of these books. Defoe was aware of the most current written sources, as well as oral accounts of foreign places in general and Africa in particular.

These oral accounts were based on legends established by early travellers such as Herodotus. These accounts usually included half-mythical reports on bucanneering and piracy, and described the peculiar mannerisms and physical features of peoples. The colour of the African and the wild beasts of the continent were especially popular topics in these oral accounts on Africa. These peculiar features had become almost proverbial; references to the colour of the African had appeared in the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare. These references were used in both physical and metaphorical

terms. The strange legends about cannibals and monsters were a challenge to the contemporary mind of the Englishman who was eager to confirm them either by travelling or by reading about them in travel books. The existence of an entirely different continent added an exciting dimension to the known world of England and the European continent.

Written reports on bucanneers and pirates were also available to Defoe. Secord suggests that Defoe used general histories of pirates, depending especially on the story of Captain John Avery about whom Defoe had written an elaborate history.[5] Books such as Alexander Esquemelin's Bucanneers of America (1684-85) and Woodes Roger's Cruising Voyage Round the World (1712), while they enlarged the age's acquaintance with natural history and geography, also provided detailed accounts of bucanneering, the procedures of cruising, and the disposal of spoils. Defoe was able to supplement this information with the authentic and fictionalized biographies and published trials of less fortunate pirates such as in the Grand Pirate, the Life and Death of Captain George Crusack, The Great Sea Robber, and The Tryals of Major Stede Bonnet and Other Pyrates.

With all this material at his disposal, Defoe had very little trouble creating a fictional plot uniting these fragments of information and filling in gaps, left by travel writers, with his own conjectures. The Life, Adventures and Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton, one of Defoe's novels of adventure in foreign countries and a major novel about piracy, was published in 1720, six months after he had

published a less than serious account of the exploits of John Avery. His decision to write Captain Singleton may reveal his attempts to utilize his accumulated knowledge of voyages and piracy in a fictitious story. This way he would not have his hands tied too tightly by rigid historical circumstances and biographical limitations. This was one of the advantages of travel fiction which derived from the literary and geographical plotlessness of non-fiction travel literature on Africa. Defoe was free to invent his own plot to suit his specific purpose. Defoe had already been quite successful in his application of the same method to the composition of Robinson Crusoe. That the favourable reception of the adventures of Robinson Crusoe was a probable encouragement in the composition of Captain Singleton cannot be over-emphasized. The plots of both narratives are heavily indebted to the literature of travel, and both use material from almost the same sources. Both narratives resemble familiar accounts of actual experiences of individuals, and their content is a subtle blend of fact and fiction. Robinson Crusoe had had a great appeal to the imagination of readers with its seemingly realistic features and its representation of the detailed autobiography of a principal character. Moreover, in Robinson Crusoe, the journey plot had proved exceptionally successful as a method of discussing and interpreting man's perennial quest for knowledge about himself and about others. Chances were that the use of the same method would be just as successful in

Captain Singleton.

Bob Singleton's story is divided into two main parts; the first consists of the details of his childhood, and his adolescent voyages in Africa before he embarks on the life of indiscriminate piracy which is the theme of the second. The young Singleton, kidnapped at the age of two for dubious reasons, is a "very well dressed" child of comfortable middle-class parents who is cared for, though improperly, by a maid. He is later provided a middle-class education by two Portuguese sailors. Though he is nurtured in the most despicable society imaginable, Singleton is saved the degeneration which might have naturally resulted from his new marine environment. His life at sea with the Portuguese comes to an end in Madagascar where, as a result of his participation in an abortive mutiny, the mischievous but innocent boy is put ashore with the twenty-six conspirators. Together they make plans for their island stay and for the most memorable feature of the first part of the book which is the journey across Africa. From this point onwards, Defoe constructs an elaborate fictional plot based on the sources already mentioned, providing details of the distance of routes used by his travellers, description of the landscape and other natural phenomena, and the travellers' experiences with the inhabitants of central Africa. This journey has been clearly mapped out in George A. Aitken's introduction to the 1904 edition of Captain Singleton. The travellers start their journey fifty miles north of a point

12° 35' south of the equator. After a journey of about two hundred miles along a river, they discover a series of cataracts. Travelling westward from this point for about seven hundred miles more, they reach a ridge of mountains beyond which is a gloomy desert. Nine days' journeying leads them to a big lake where they refresh themselves and resume the journey which brings them to a hilly country and fresh water. After thirty-one days of travelling they discover what Aitken and others believe to be the River Nile. They travel for more than a thousand miles more to get to the Portuguese and English settements at the Gold Coast. The journey begins from the known, rambles through the "dark continent" and ends at the even more familiar European settlements along the west coast of Africa.

Between the two known points of the journey is the virtually unknown and therefore plotless area of central Africa, and Defoe uses this plotlessness to an advantage. He fills the gap with elaborate details of life which increase the imaginary verisimilitude of the narrative and therefore satisfy the curiosity of his readers who are eager to know about what the "dark continent" is actually made up of. Singleton's adventures span the coastal and interior parts of Africa through to the far east. His summary of the prospects of his journey with the sailors across the continent and its people reveals some of the more common topics to be found in travel books on Africa:

> We were now landed upon the continent of Africa, the most desolate, desert, and inhospitable country in the world, even Greenland and Nova Zembla itself not excepted, with this difference only, that even the worst part of it we found uninhabited . . . . To add to the exclamation I am making on the nature of the place, it was here that we took one of the rashest, and wildest, and most desperate resolutions that ever was taken by man, or any number of men, in this world; this was to travel overland through the heart of the country, from the coast of Mozambique, on the east ocean, to the coast of Angola or Guinea on the western or Atlantic Ocean, a continent of at least 1800 miles, in which journey we had excessive heats to support, unpassable deserts to go over, no carriages, camels, or beasts of any kind to carry our luggage, innumerable numbers of wild and ravenous beasts to encounter with, such as lions, leopards, tigers, lizards, and elephants; we had the equinoctial line to pass under, and, consequently, were in the very centre of the torrid zone; we had nations of savages to encounter with, barbarous and brutish to the last degree; hunger and thirst to struggle with, and, in one word, terrors enough to have daunted the stoutest hearts that ever were placed in cases of flesh and blood.[6]

Defoe's intention is to make Africa imaginable with his extrapolation of geographical detail from coastal Africa into the hinterland. But he is very successful in making this scene of generalized detail as remote from England as possible. The direct comparison of Africa with the remoteness of Nova Zembla and Greenland, and the negative connotations of adjectives he uses to describe the journey, follow closely the tradition of representing Africa as the most unimaginable place on earth. Such descriptions establish the physical as well as the mental distance appropriate for the metaphysical interpretation of Captain Singleton. This

distance plays an important role in Defoe's implication of the generic expectations of travel fiction.

In addition to the general prospects of this dangerous journey through the heart of Africa, other descriptions, such as the physical appearance of the Africans, are just as accurate and convincing in establishing the essential physical differences between the European and the African. Reference to the African's colour was a particularly interesting topic for discussion in travel literature on Africa. The colour, suggests John Atkins, is what distinguishes Africans from the rest of the world. The supposed barbarity, treachery and ignorance of the natives were just as interesting a subject as the colour:

> Along the greatest part of the coast, the Europeans have been cautious of venturing on shore amongst the natives, they being barbarous and uncivilized as several have experienced to their cost . . . . . In those few places where I have been on the shore myself, I could never attain a satisfactory account from the Natives of the Inland Parts. Nor did I ever meet with a white Man that had been, or durst venture himself, up in the country; and believe, if any had attempted it the Natives would have destroyed them.[7]

If we are to take Snelgrave at his word, then we can fully appreciate Defoe's daring venture in skilfully manipulating fact about the coastal parts of Africa to create a journey across Africa, which no traveller on record had been able to undertake. A close study of Singleton's description of the travellers' experiences with the natives reveals that they

approached the people with all these accepted notions firmly in mind. The people of Madagascar are "a parcel of creatures scarce human, or capable of being made social on any account whatsoever."[8]

> At our first coming into the island we were terrified exceedingly with the sight of the barbarous people, whose figure was made more terrible to us than it really was by the report we had of them, barbarous, treacherous, and villainous enough in their nature, only civil from fear, and therefore concluded we should soon fall into their hands when the ship was gone.[9]

Defoe's reference to reports on the barbarity of the African natives is a deliberate attempt at authenticating Singleton's narrative. In other words, Singleton's journey exposes the exaggerations of travel or oral reports. But the interesting point is that the travel reports which Singleton refers to have the same effect on readers as Singleton's "moderate" and "authentic" narrative. They both effect the distance necessary for the implication of Defoe's moral thesis.

Making the journey more hazardous, and the reading of it even more interesting, is the dangerous and tiresome terrain through which Singleton and his party travel, such as wide stretches of desert, hot sands, swamps and hills. Singleton's account of his first impression of the desert is an awesome picture to say the least. It is described in very general terms but the overall effect is far from a vague and unspecific scene:

> Having with infinite labour mounted these hills, and coming to a view of the country beyond them, it was indeed to ASTONISH as stout a heart as ever was created. It was

> a vast howling wilderness--not a tree, a river, or a green thing to be seen; for as far as the eye could look, nothing but a scalding sand, which, as the wind blew, drove about in clouds enough to overwhelm man and beast. Nor could we see any end of it either before us, which was our way, or to the right hand or left; so that truly our men began to be DISCOURAGED, and talk of going back again. Nor could we indeed think of venturing over such a HORRID place as that before us, in which we saw nothing but present DEATH.[10]

This description of the desert is the ultimate expression of the incomparability of Africa with any place else in the world. Although such dreary scenes are interspersed with refreshing descriptions of lakes and rivers around which the country looks green and pleasant, the awesome prospect of journeying through this indescribable terrain is indelibly fixed on the reader's mind. Moreover, most of these descriptions of more pleasant landscapes are often marred by some of the natural phenomena which contribute to the horror usually attributed to Africa--wild beasts. In non-fiction travel literature, tales of wild and strange animals were a prominent feature of reports on Africa. Richard Jobson, concluding a descriptive passage on "sea horses" in his The Golden Trade, remarks that "there was never beast nor anything in that kinde, set forth to shewe in these our Countries that would produce more admiration."[11] Some of his descriptions of wild beasts include lions, leopards, civet cats, porcupines, elephants, and even a unicorn.[12] Singleton and his friends encounter the same wild animals, with the exception, of course, of the unicorn.[13] The travellers had several adventures with some of these animals, such as

the chase between a "she-lion" and a large deer and the crocodile's attack on the black prince. They were frightened out of their wits when, after a long exhausting journey across the desert, they pitched tents for a night's rest and were visited by the wild beasts of the area:

> . . . the sudden roaring of some lions . . . brought down a prodigious number of lions, and other furious creatures, we know not what about them, for we could not see them; but there was a noise, and yelling and howling, and all sorts of such wilderness music on every side of us, as if all the beasts of the desert were assembled to devour us.[14]

Descriptive passages such as this not only create awe and wonder about the unknown but provide the suspense necessary for maintaining audience interest in the adventure. Like the descriptions of the natives, the descriptions of these wild beasts form part of the setting which emphasizes the differences between the known and the unknown.

Together, these descriptions provide interesting points of comparison between the known and the unknown either directly or indirectly. The comparisons they stimulate are based on the accepted notions of the inequality and inferiority of the civilization of Africa. Thus attempts at comparison, paradoxically, undermine the conventional rules of comparison. Descriptions of the landscape and the people of Africa constantly emphasize the incomparability of the objects and peoples described. Comparisons encouraged by non-fiction travel literature on Africa and by travel fiction set in Africa produce results quite different from comparisons encouraged by non-fiction travel literature on

Europe. The comparisons encouraged by non-fiction travel literature on Europe are based on the assumption of the equality of the civilization of the two countries being compared. Similarities and differences are almost always attributed to natural phenomena such as weather patterns and the peculiarities of landscape, rather than simply to ignorance and under-civilization. The knowledge gleaned from these comparisons by readers is a complement to what readers were already familiar with. In non-fiction travel literature on Africa and travel fiction set in Africa, there is a strong emphasis on the gap between the known and the unknown. Singleton's description of the "howling desert" and the awesome beasts has the same effect on the reader as Atkins and Jobson's descriptions of Africa and the colour of its people. Singleton often attempts direct comparison. His comparison of the desolation and inhospitality of Africa to Greenland and Nova Zembla illustrates the defiance of all accepted rules of comparison. In Singleton's account of how the natives communicate a negative answer to the question on how to find travel guides, he says that "they shrunk up their shoulders as Frenchmen do when they are afraid to undertake a thing."[15] On several occasions he measures distance in English miles; it takes them "six English miles"[16] to march along the river Quilloa to its broadest point where they can use boats to complete the journey; they travel "twenty-five English miles" more on the river from one cataract to the other; and the Englishman they find tells them that they are

about "one hundred and twenty English leagues from the coast."[17] The river Quilloa is frequently compared with the Thames; when it is "a fair open channel," it is "about as broad as the Thames below Gravesend";[18] in its narrowness "it is as broad as the Thames is at Windsor or there abouts."[19] Defoe even attempts to compare some of the animals in Africa with vaguely similar ones in England. For food they "found an unexpected . . . supply of hares. They were a kind something different from ours in England, larger and not as swift of foot, but very good meate."[20] Such comparisons are part of Defoe's attempts to make Africa more imaginable to the reader, even though the ultimate result is to show how totally different Africa is from Europe. The physical and cultural differences between Europe and Africa, to most European travellers to Africa, meant the absence of civilization in Africa. Therefore we see Defoe's travellers trying to impose European "rules of civilization" on Africans to protect themselves. When they fight with the natives, they take prisoners of war to carry their baggage and secure them with handcuffs. If Africa did not have these rules of "decorum" then they would teach her how to observe them. It is worth mentioning that this patronizing attitude was one of the main reasons for the missionary activities in Africa during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Captain Singleton, as in non-fiction travel literature on Africa, Europe becomes a yardstick for measuring African civilization. Therefore such direct comparisons

do not only cater to the readers' love of the sensational and the unusual, but also stimulate patriotic sentiments in readers by providing them with the security derived from the knowledge of their superiority over the Africans.

Defoe, in creating a distance between the world of Singleton's adventures and the familiar world of his readers by the methods discussed, aims at exploring varieties of material and human values. He also prepares the reader for the comprehension of human endeavour in both physical and spiritual terms. This was Defoe's purpose in adapting, in his creation of a partial fictional journey plot for Captain Singleton, some aspects of the expectations of spiritual autobiography. The importance of chronology and its relationship to the journey plot in both physical and metaphorical terms is a significant feature of both travel literature and spiritual autobiography. The spiritual welfare of an individual can only be revealed through the careful observation of the individual's development. This development can be easily traced only when the stages of the individual's life have been clearly mapped out in chronological order. This was the basis for the composition of spiritual autobiography. The chronological account of a journey can therefore be perceived on the more abstract and philosophical level of an individual's journey through life. With the journey plot,

> . . . a man could tell which way he was headed, and how far he had come, by consulting the signposts and milestones set up for his guidance in spiritual autobiography. By means of them he could

> discover the spiritual connotations of seemingly indifferent events, and read a meaning for himself in external prosaic happenings.[21]

In Captain Singleton, however, the narrator points at his lack of so interpreting his life. There is very little self-examination by the narrator, though the narrator's experiences provoke the reader's own self-examination. The reader's ability to identify with the narrator's experiences presupposes the assumption of the universality, not only of outward experiences in

> . . . group existence, but in the spiritual life of individuals. Circumstances vary, but only accidentally or superficially, however much they may obscure basic similarities from the casual observer, on closer view they actually confirm and heighten the constant features of religious experience.
>
> A man need not have done anything remarkable in the eyes of the world for his autobiography to be worthwhile, or if his spiritual life did happen to be unique in its circumstances, or extraordinary in its intensity it would nevertheless correspond with that of all other Christians, and be meaningful to them for this very reason.[22]

The ordinariness of the autobiographer usually encourages a comfortable identification with the readers; and bare historical and geographical detail may become an analogy illustrating man's journey through life. With the incorporation of some of the implications that arose from travel literature serving as spiritual autobiography, a moral thesis emerges from a seemingly straightforward narration of Singleton's experiences. The reader peruses the book with an awareness that Singleton's most important role in his memoirs is to confess the inadequacy of his spiritual

life.

The implicit presence of spiritual autobiography in Captain Singleton also encourages the constant juxtaposition of the past with the present in the search for moral guidance. The circumstances surrounding Singleton's childhood mould his character in such a way as to prepare him for his adult life. He talks, early in his account, about his relationship with the Portuguese, "a nation the most perfidious and the most debauched, the most insolent and cruel, of any that pretend to call themselves Christians, in the world":

> I was exactly fitted for this society; for I had no sense of virtue or religion upon me. I had never heard much of either, except what a good old parson had said to me when I was a child of about eight or nine years old; nay, I was preparing and growing apace to be as wicked as anybody could be, or perhaps never was. Fate certainly thus directed my beginning, knowing that I had work which I had to do in the world, which nothing but one hardened against all sense of honesty or religion could go through.[23]

Singleton journeys through life with no serious reflection upon his actions and with no remorse for his wickedness. He does not even acquire the practical sense of managing the wealth from his exploitation. The physical isolation he experiences in his early separation from his natural parents anticipates his physical and moral isolation during his adventures in Africa and other parts of the world. The physical distance between his home and Africa symbolizes the depth of his moral isolation, and this is illustrated by his subsequent disregard for established order. Singleton's

presence in surroundings totally unfamiliar to him and his struggles for survival do not arouse in him such moral questions as the purpose of life, or teach him the proper methods of the exploitation and the acquisition of wealth.

If Singleton's excuse for his lack of moral growth is the absence of Christianity in Africa's pagan wilderness, then he has no excuse at all in the second part of his adventures when he makes William his advisor. But the only advice William can offer him, at least for a while, is the practical way of surviving in the world of piracy. The rest of the story, as Singleton narrates it, is a straightforward account of piracy and the acquisition of wealth. Since he has achieved no moral standards in his earlier travels, there are none with which he can judge his later life. Thus his final repentence is as unbelievable as his and William's claims are of "doing right" with the money from goods they have stolen from others:

> . . . I had from this time no joy of the wealth I had got. I looked upon it as stolen, and so indeed the greater part was. I looked upon it as a hoard of other men's goods, which I had robbed the innocent owners of, and which I ought, in a word, to be hanged for here, and damned for hereafter. And now, indeed, I began sincerely to hate myself for a dog; a wretch that was in a condition which nobody was ever in; for I had robbed, and though I had the wealth by me, yet it was impossible I should ever make any restitution; and upon this account it ran in my head that I could never repent, for that repentence could not be sincere without restitution, and therefore must of necessity be damned.[24]

Singleton does get rid of some of his goods during their stay in Bassorah to ease his conscience. But he also receives money in exchange for these goods. This show of reluctance on his part to get rid of the goods as an act of atonement undermines any hope of restitution. The reluctance also provides reasons for the excessive lengths he goes to to hide his goods and money, and the necessity of living in perpetual concealment on his return to England. He attaches conditions to their decision to return home; he says to William:

> . . . you shall not disclose yourself to any of your relations in England but your sister--no, not one; secondly, we will not shave off our mustaches or beards . . . nor leave off our long vests, that we may pass for Grecians and Foreigners; thirdly, that we shall never speak English in public before anybody, your sister excepted.[25]

Singleton becomes a stranger in his own country by choice. This portrait of human degeneration caused by travel bears striking similarities to Pope's portrait of the young traveller in The Dunciad. Singleton has not learnt to exploit the material and moral benefits of travel. Therefore there has been created a discontinuity in his material and spiritual development at home and abroad. The story even ends on a note of voluntary anonymity: "It is time to leave off, and say no more for the present, lest some should be willing to inquire too nicely after your old friend Captain Bob."[26] The ending emphasizes the failure of Singleton to benefit morally and spiritually from the comparisons that his memoirs implicitly relied upon. So,

contrary to the generic expectations of travel literature, Singleton is unable to be a real traveller. He attains no material, moral or spiritual benefits from his memoirs. Defoe illustrates, with the travel metaphor, that one may adapt and change to suit one's environment during travel, but a complete development away from one's own environment is certain to end in dire consequences.

The representation of Africa in both non-fiction travel literature on Africa and travel fiction set in Africa, and travel fiction's use of the travel metaphor, reveal Defoe's distinctive use of the image of that continent to examine certain universal economic and moral values. The distancing effected by narrative comparisons leads up to spiritual and moral implications which are beyond the undertaking of the main character. The moral and spiritual perspective of this African story neutralizes some of the peculiarities of Africa, a neutralization which is rarely present in non-fiction travel literature on Africa. This partial neutralization of cultural prejudices is made more complete in Johnson's use of the metaphor of travel in terms of the African countries of Ethiopia and Egypt in Rasselas.

CHAPTER III

The Ethiopian and Egyptian settings of Rasselas depend upon an impressive variety of travel accounts. Johnson had available to him several comprehensive descriptions of these two countries. This availability removed the necessity of creating a fictional plot to fill the geographical plotlessness which would otherwise have existed. There were no gaps in the knowledge about Ethiopia or Egypt which had to be bridged with a fictional geographical plot. However, the flexibility of the material on Eastern Africa gave Johnson the freedom to manipulate authentic facts in the creation of a literary plot suitable for the moral and spiritual interpretation of travel. Johnson is therefore able to subordinate the descriptions of the geographical landscape and tourist attractions to the analysis of the moral and spiritual implications of travel.

His intentional vagueness in his description of scene and character resulted in the subordination of the historical and geographical details in Rasselas. This was an attempt at reducing literary and cultural prejudices which had become an inseparable part of travel reports on Africa. This vagueness marks a significant difference between the purpose of the comparisons stimulated by non-fiction travel literature and by Rasselas. Non-fiction

travel literature on Africa is based largely on prejudicial assumptions which emphasize the difference between the two cultures under comparison and the inferiority of African civilization. The comparisons which Rasselas encourages presuppose the equality of civilization in the home country and in Africa. Johnson's belief in the generality of human nature discouraged the perpetuation of personal or national prejudices which are found in non-fiction travel books.

Johnson's removal of Rasselas from the restrictions of descriptions reliant on geographical landscape and historical facts enables the reader to become more aware of the mental attitudes which, in the eighteenth century, had become associated with the physical act of travel. Rasselas, therefore, demands a less physical examination of the locale and a more abstract development of the journey plot. The result of this development is the travel metaphor which provides a wider scope for comprehensive study of the moral significance of travel.

The setting and the travel metaphor in Rasselas make such an extensive use of historical and geographical facts about eastern Africa that discussion of the importance of travel in the story must necessarily take into consideration its non-fictional sources. As Thomás Curley suggests, though the evidence of a wide variety of sources for the setting of Rasselas works against the fact that the story was composed within a week, it cannot be ignored that Johnson read several books on travel and that Rasselas is a

result of this interest. He had translated travel books such as Father Jerome Lobo's A Voyage to Abyssinia into English and refers to several more travel books in the Rambler and the Idler. These references evidence his knowledge of both ancient and contemporary travel accounts. Several Johnsonian scholars, such as John Robert Moore, Gwin Kolb, Donald Lockhart and Thomas Curley, have produced a fascinating and extensive survey of the historical and geographical sources for the Ethiopian and the Egyptian setting of Rasselas. These valuable studies which reveal the dependence of Rasselas on both mythical and authentic reports of eastern Africa help one to distinguish between Defoe and Johnson's manipulation of the plotlessness of non-fiction travel literature on Africa. Defoe, in plotting the journey of Singleton and his comrades across central Africa, as the second chapter of this study illustrates, was forced, due to the absence of authentic reports on the interior part of Africa, to rely upon information about the more easily accessible coastal parts of the continent. He was faced with a genuine problem of geographical plotlessness which he remedied by creating a fictional travel plot. In composing Rasselas, Johnson chose a locale with much smaller geographical boundaries than Defoe's setting. Johnson's setting had been visited and thoroughly described by several travellers and travel writers. Therefore Johnson had no geographical plotlessness to contend with. Indeed, the journey of his protagonists bears a strong similarity to those

of Jesuit missionaries. But this similarity can hardly be construed as a gross plagiarism of travel books. The locale he chose and his manipulation of descriptive passages creates an effective distance between England and eastern Africa. This distance offered him complete freedom to manipulate his material, not for the purpose of satisfying the readers' love of the sensational and the novel. He was more interested in the transformation of the physical journey and the travellers' experiences into a process of moral and spiritual improvement. Unlike Captain Singleton, there is no trace in Rasselas of any attempt by Johnson to reduce the effect of sensationalism with implications of didacticism. The degree of tension between sensationalism and didacticism in the two books marks the stages of the development of fiction from travel fiction. Understanding this development makes it necessary to study the sources Johnson used.

A casual glance at the list of sources for Rasselas reveals an impressive range from Herodotus and Pliny to contemporary travel accounts by John Greaves , Aaron Hill, Richard Pococke and George Sandys.[1] Johnson's dependence on some of these sources is especially evident in his descriptions of the happy valley. Gwin Kolb mentions the travel writer Luis de Urreta's description of a valley in which Ethiopian princes were kept. According to Urreta, this valley is located in the middle of Ethiopia, a mountain retreat with the most luxurious of climates and other natural adornments.[2] Donald Lockhart compares several

passages from Urreta's Historia Aethiopica describing this Abyssinian paradise to Johnson's description of the happy valley.[3] The similarities which emerge from his comparison show Johnson's knowledge of Urreta's account. The mountains which surround the valley and make it impregnable, the streams which water the land, the cascading waterfalls, and the animals which inhabit this fertile land are all present in Urreta's descriptions.

Other sources for the setting of the happy valley are the descriptions of royal retreats in the manuscripts of Jesuit missionaries such as Jerome Lobo, Francisco Alvarez and Balthazar Tellez.[4] Dissertations which were published along with Lobo's A Voyage to Abyssinia by M. Le Grand refer to a guarded royal retreat on Mount Guexen,[5] and Lobo himself provides a description of a beautiful region which had all the comforts of Johnson's happy valley.[6] Lockhart, who quotes copiously from the accounts of some of these Jesuit missionaries in his essay on the Ethiopian background of Rasselas, notes Johnson's indebtedness to Father Francisco Alvarez whose book on an expedition to Ethiopia in 1520 was published in 1540, and translated into English and published by Samuel Purchas in 1625.[7] Lockhart quotes Alvarez's passage on the impossibility of escape from this valley in Abyssinia:

> Upon this Mountaine are other Mountaines which make certaine Vallies, wherein are very many Rivers and Fountaines, and Fields which are manured by the Inhabitants. There is also a Valley between two Mountaines which is very strong, so that by no means can a man go out of the same, because the passage is closed up

> with exceedingly strong gates, and in this Valley which is very great, and hath many Townes and Dwellings in it, they keepe those which are of the Bloud-Royal.[8]

Alvarez's description is very similar to Johnson's description of the "residence of the Abyssinian princes." The happy valley is:

> A spacious valley in the Kingdom of Amhara, surrounded on every side by mountaines, of which the summits overhang the middle part. The only passage, by which it could be entered, was a certain cavern that passed under a rock, of which it has long been disputed whether it was the work of nature or of human industry. The outlet of the cavern was concealed by a thick wood, and the mouth which opened into the valley was closed with gates of iron, forged by the artificers of ancient days, so massy that no man could, without the help of engines, open or shut them.[9]

The verbal similarities of these two passages strongly suggest Johnson's knowledge of Alvarez's description of the Abyssinian valley. Father Balthazar Tellez's digest of several Jesuit travel accounts on Ethiopia might also have supplied Johnson with the idea of the Ethiopian system of confining princes in a cold and barren mountain.[10] Such was the variety of sources that Johnson had available to him for the location and description of the happy valley in Rasselas. From these sources, Johnson located the happy valley in an exotic environment. For the deflation of idealistic notions which are bound to be conjured up in such an environment, he includes in this description of an earthly paradise the more realistic facts of the impossibility of escape and the prince's tendency towards discontent. It is in fear of mental and moral lethargy that Johnson's protagonists must

escape from their confinement into the real world of Cairo. There they may learn how to survive such a morally and spiritually deficient environment as the valley. The juxtaposition of the ideal surroundings of this earthly paradise with the harsh reality of character discontent reveals the motivations for the escape from the happy valley and the Egyptian tour.

The setting of the Egyptian tour uses both ancient and contemporary literature on Egypt. The seventeenth century German scholar of Ethiopian languages, Job Ludolf, in his Historia Aethiopica,[11] discusses the reasons why the Nile is regarded as the "eldest" of all other rivers in Africa.[12] Balthazar Tellez's description of the Nile as quoted by Lockhart's essay is very similar to Johnson's in Rasselas. Tellez explains that:

> [the] Nile by reason of the prodigious Height of the Rocks, among which it has its Course, even within Ethiopia, has some dreadful Falls, which the Antients call'd Cataracts . . . . At the first cataract the River falls plum down a very craggy steep Rock . . . .
>
> The Noise of the Rebounding Water and Whirlpool it makes, falling into a deep Cavity surrounded with Rocks, is so violent, that it resembles a continual and dreadful Clap of Thunder, which for a great compass round about deafens the Ears and torments the Head . . . . The Fall of the first Cataract is about 50 Spans, that is 12 Yards and a half high; that of the second is twice or thrice as much, and accordingly the Noise of the Water is double.[13]

In Rasselas, the lake in the valley from which "the Father of Waters begins his course,"

> discharged its superfluities by a stream which entered a dark cleft of the mountain on the northern side, and fell with dreadful noise from precipice to precipice till it was heard no more.[14]

Johnson captures a simple but accurate description of the water fall without the adjectives which imbue Tellez's description with fear and awe. This tendency to avoid sensationalism in the effect of his descriptions is also revealed in Pekuah's unexotic reference to the crocodiles and river-horses which inhabit the Nile during her narration of her adventures with the Arabs.

Rasselas, in its appropriation of two important features of travel fiction and oriental tales, namely, a setting in a distant land and a journey plot, is overt in its education of its protagonists and readers. In the first instance, Johnson avoids the exaggerations of short allegorical tales set in Asia or Africa. His protagonists are not ordinary people, and they do live in an earthly paradise which fact may be argued as improbable. But the improbability of the prince's residence is a deliberate attempt to juxtapose the fictitious world of the happy valley and the real world of Egypt. It is this juxtaposition which provides the reasons for the prince's discontent and the motivation which underlies his decision to leave the valley. The problem of happiness as distinct from the luxurious adornments of the valley emerges as the most significant point in Johnson's description of the happy valley. Life in an earthly paradise presents the widespread notion of perfect

bliss and with it all the remoteness, delights, and luxuries usually attributed to paradises. The elaborate descriptions are important in their provision of the aura of strange and distant lands where human happiness is commonly thought to be complete and lasting. The seemingly happy valley of Johnson's narrative, however, exudes enough negative connotations to reveal the reality of a monotonous existence in a Gothic-like prison. This portrait of the valley represents a direct contrast to the variety of life and the freedom of movement in Cairo. By emphasizing the superficiality of the valley, Johnson heightens its contrast with the reality of Cairo. It is important to note that the happy valley and Cairo are mostly important as symbols of the ideas about life which the protagonists associate with them. It is the idealistic surrounding of the happy valley which provides the motive for Rasselas' search for contentment. Bored with the luxuries of the valley, he recognizes that the proper happiness of man is different from animal contentment and he regrets his lack of happiness. For the search to begin, Rasselas must believe that the valley does not provide an existence conducive to his happiness and that experience in a different environment might provide answers to his questions. Once outside the happy valley, the travellers' idealistic notions about life are juxtaposed with the harsh realities of the city. Cairo is represented, not as one of the famous ancient cities in the world, and a valuable repository of

ancient architecture, but a symbol of reality in a world of illusion. Every historical or geographical locale outside the valley with which men associate worldly happiness only provides fresh motivations for a continued search for contentment. Every locale is important for the universal qualities it symbolizes and the effect these qualities have on the travellers.

The travellers, like the Ethiopian and Egyptian scenery, are not depicted as possessing conventional African peculiarities. Despite evidence of Johnson's knowledge of the actual history of some of his characters in Ethiopia, his inclusion of these characters has very little to do with the original characters of travel accounts. Ludolf, in his Historia Aethiopica, provides a genealogical table which lists the fourth child of the third generation of Ethiopian royalty as having escaped from a mountain prison in Amhara. He also mentions a prince whose name was "Rasselach." As Lockhart rightly observes, this "Rasselach" is the same person to whom Lobo refers as "Rassela Christos," and Tellez as "Ras Cella Christos."[15] Rasselas' name and royal image are found in travel accounts about Ethiopia, but he lacks individual traits. Rather, he is a vehicle, as all the characters are, for the articulation of Johnson's ideas. He represents absolute idealistic notions about life which, when applied to the real world outside the happy valley, undergo a spiritual and moral metamorphosis. He is the "everyman" in search of knowledge about himself and

the world.

The name "Imlac" is mentioned by Ludolf as belonging to an emperor. In Rasselas, Imlac is the wise companion of a group of young travellers. His account of his travels reveals some of the most important notions about travel and travel literature. It also anticipates his travels with Rasselas and clarifies some of the moral and spiritual implications of travel. The history of his travels comfirms the eighteenth century belief in the educative value of travel. He acquires knowledge from his travel experiences not only about the arts of navigation and the ancient magnificence of Persia, but also about the depravity of mankind, and about man's perpetual search for a better life in a world in which there is "much to be endured, and little to be enjoyed." He has been able to learn about the world in his travels through Persia and Egypt by tracing general truths in the "accidental influences of climate on custom." His view may not always be reliable, and he may not have answers to all the questions which Rasselas wants answered; nevertheless his attitude to travel is the key to the understanding of Johnson's use of the travel metaphor.

Nekayah and Pekuah are described with no peculiar African traits to connect them with any particular locale. This deliberate vagueness is part of Johnson's attempt to maintain the universality of their identity. They are initially presented mainly in terms of the ideas they represent, most of them domestic and romantic. These ideas

undergo a significant change by the end of their travels. Like Rasselas, they are occasionally the vehicle of Johnson's satire. Pekuah's experiences with the Arabs, for example, deflate the romantic aspects of the abduction. The universal belief in the tranquility of the pastoral domain and the peace that prosperity brings is proved false by Nekayah and Rasselas' inquiry into different modes of life. At other times they are presented as the victims of Johnson's satire against the abuse of travel. The deflation of their ideals is the basis of Johnson's use of the travel metaphor for pleasurable instruction. Nekayah's decision to mourn for Pekuah defeats the purpose of travel. It involves seclusion from worldly experiences. When Pekuah returns to the group and we realize that Nekayah has wasted her lamentations on Pekuah's loss, we can sense the humour that emerges from Nekayah's foolish actions. We can laugh at her folly, but we can realize as well the adverse effects of this folly. In this instance, Johnson tempers satire with humour to make instruction more palatable. The disappointing results of their search, some of them humourous and some pitiful, are part of Johnson's belief in the frustrating but instructive value of travel.

Most of the other characters whom the travellers encounter during their travels are presented only in terms of their ideas about life rather than in terms of the African peculiarities of their physical appearance or mannerisms. The Bassa of Egypt, the wise philosopher, the hermit

and the astronomer, are all part of Johnson's working out of a spiritual pattern of experience with the travel metaphor. The Bassa's life is a revelation of the danger of prosperity. The philosopher's empty rhetoric on morality is not very different from Rasselas' ideals about that subject. Man's perennial quest for other modes of existence in the world is illustrated by the hermit's state of discontent. The lives of these characters also illustrate the danger that appearances constitute and the necessity of examining people and events by delving beyond the mere appearance. Thus these people are not mere representatives of a "strange" and incomprehensible culture. Johnson presents them as typical representatives of a world which transcends the geographical and social differences of Europe and Africa.

Throughout Rasselas, Johnson emphasizes the effect travel experiences have on his travellers rather than focusing on the particularity of his setting. He only uses the setting to establish a remarkable degree of remoteness from daily life in order to enforce the impression that it is human kind, not just Ethiopians, whom he is discussing. With this setting he can appropriately satirize the exotic and the oriental exaggerations of travel fiction. The transcendence over the factual and the improbable clears the way for a comprehensive and philosophic exposition of some of the conditions for human existence with which Johnson is ultimately concerned.

One can safely surmise that Johnson's adaptation of the travel metaphor in Rasselas affirms his belief in his theory of the educative value of travel. This theory is inherent in the biblical allegory of Pilgrim's Progress and in the antiromance of Don Quixote and Captain Singleton. Johnson was not only working within the tradition of this theory, he was responding to the eighteenth century zeal for travel as well and interest in travel literature. For Johnson, travel was more than a physical act of visiting tourist attractions and measuring artifacts such as pyramids and marble obelisks; it was an intellectual and a moral activity. His theories on travel were inspired by James Howell's Instruction for Foreine Travel, whose influence on Johnson's travel literature cannot be over-emphasized.[16] Travel, to Howell, was an important process for the moral and the intellectual improvement of the traveller whose experiences could be used for the promotion of the welfare of society. Johnson carries this idea further in his advice to travel writers in the Idler, No. 97:

> He that would travel for the entertainment of others should remember that the great object of remark is human life. Every nation has something peculiar in its manufacturers, its works of genius, its medicines, its agriculture, its customs and its policy. He only is a useful traveller who brings home something by which his country may be benefitted; who procures some supply of want or some mitigation of evil, which may enable his readers to compare their condition with that of others, to improve it whenever it is worse, and whenever it is better to enjoy it.[17]

The travel plot in Rasselas illustrates the application of his ideas about travel in this passage. These are the ideas that Rasselas and his party have to apply to their travels before their experiences can improve the conditions of their existence in the world.

The travellers, with the exception of Imlac, escape from the confining environment of the happy valley with preconceived ideas and a strong determination to discover the best state of contentment. Imlac's account of his experiences in the world outside the valley does little to deter the young travellers from the foolishness of their search. They must experience it for themselves; the results are always disappointing for the fictional characters but instructive. Rasselas' lecture on the dangers of ignorance to the group of young men may have ended in "a general chorus of laughter," but it teaches him to be wary of accepting a way of life of which he is actually ashamed. He is disappointed in the philosopher's contradiction of his lecture on Stoicism; however this teaches him the impracticality of empty rhetoric. The party's visits to the shepherds, the rich man and the hermit result in a further reduction of expectations. The shepherds are "so rude and ignorant, so little able to compare the good with the evil of [their] occupation, and so indistinct in their narratives and descriptions, that very little could be learned from them."[18] Even the hermit confesses that his withdrawal into solitude has brought him little peace. Ironically, all the

people the travellers come into contact with represent different facets of their own discontent and their thirst for elusive worldly knowledge. When the travellers have met and conversed with these people, the ignorance of these inhabitants shows up the ignorance of the travellers. The removal of all specific character traits facilitates the identification of the travellers with those whom they meet.

This identification leads to the comparison, by the travellers and by the reader, of one situation with another. Imlac, as Johnson's mouthpiece, cautions Rasselas that "all judgement is comparative."[19] Therefore it is only when Rasselas confronts the source of his own unhappiness by comparing it with the cheerfulness of the young Egyptian men that he can make any judgement concerning the behaviour of these young men. A man

> . . . may, by examining his own mind, guess what passes in the minds of others; when you feel that your own gaiety is counterfeit, it may justly lead you to suspect that of your companions not to be sincere.[20]

One important aspect of Johnson's emphasis on the significance of comparison is the deceptiveness of the appearance of objects of comparison. Rasselas can gain an honest insight into his own state of unhappiness only when he has delved deeper into the condition of others. He has to look beyond the superficialities of emotions and situations. The Bassa's warning to Rasselas that "appearances are delusive" underlines Johnson's concern over the inadequacy

of appearances as the basis of moral thought and comparison.

This process of comparison between different conditions of life illustrates Johnson's methods of working out some of the implications that arose from travel literature serving as spiritual autobiography. For as George Starr suggests, how else can a man trace his spiritual development in life except by reflection on the past, comparisons and subsequent identification of his situation with that of others. Life's very disappointments become part of the process that leads the characters to the point where it is necessary to apply spiritual values, inherent in the travel metaphor, to their lives. The travellers' disappointing experiences with the people they meet do not destroy their determination to achieve their goals; they fortify them in their search for better conditions of existence. This search exposes them to the historical and geographical landmarks of Egypt which Johnson imbues with moral and spiritual values that should be associated with travel. An encounter with any of them therefore presents an occasion for Johnson's exhortations on the need to look beyond the physical act of travelling to obtain the full benefits of travel. Specific objects are discussed in general terms. The pyramid is "a monument of the insufficiency of human enjoyment" and gives rise to an invocation against human greed.

> Whoever thou art, that, not content with a moderate condition imaginest happiness in royal magnificence, and dreamest that command or riches can feed the appetite of

> novelty with perpetual gratifications, survey the pyramids and confess thy folly.[21]

The visit to the catacombs creates an occasion for "discoveries on the nature of the soul," and is a reminder of "the shortness of our present state." The travellers' visit to the astronomer is perhaps the strangest reminder of the "present state." Their deflated expectations of experiencing other worlds are summarized in the astronomer's mode of existence. Here is a man who, looking at other worlds, believes he has control over the one with which he has least contact. It takes his interaction with more worldly people to realize the danger of neglecting "the gay tumult of life." The vicissitudes of life, which the perpetual anticipation of change brings, produce a frustrating but an educative awareness of worldly experience which leads one to have faith in and be happy with the expectation of eternal bliss. It is only when one has achieved this non-worldly perspective of eternal contentment that one can overcome the illusions of worldy happiness and apply a spiritual perspective to his life.

In Rasselas, Johnson's subordination of character and scene to the ethical and spiritual implications of travel experiences reveals the development of the spiritual perspective of this moral fable. The particular and the peculiar always act as a spring-board for the discussion of the general; and the particular, no matter where its location is, is presented as suitable material for the discussion of the universal. Like a poet, the traveller must,

> . . .divest himself of the prejudices of his age or country; he must consider right and wrong in their abstract and invariable state; he must disregard present laws and opinions, and rise to general and transcendental truths, which will always be the same . . . . He must write as the interpreter of nature, and the legislator of mankind, and consider himself as presiding over the thoughts and manners of future generations, as being superior to time and place.[22]

Above all, he must consider himself, just like any other man, as "only one atom of the mass of humanity" with neither such virtue nor such vice that he is simply out of supernatural favours or afflictions.[23] The role of the travel writer and the purpose of travel fiction marks a significant development from the representation of Africa as a forbidding continent, fit only to be explored and exploited for its uniqueness and its natural resources. Even the distance of that continent from Europe is no more regarded as the cause of the inferiority of the African civilization in Rasselas. The distance becomes instead an effective method of objective criticism of life and the world. Johnson's theory of self-education through travel--a journey which involves a documentation of geographical landscape and the peculiarities of strange people--allows him to create a literary plot based on the idea of travel as a quest for knowledge about the self, the world, and eternal life. In Rasselas, travels to ancient and modern curiosities of the most toured countries in East Africa become emblems for universal, moral and spiritual ideas.

CONCLUSION

The eighteenth century belief in travel as a form of education was a re-affirmation of the ancient concept of travel as a form of enlightenment. This concept became the maxim of eighteenth century travellers and travel writers who sought in their travels to Europe to educate themselves and others by writing about their foreign experiences. Thus, by reading travel books readers were not merely satisfying their curiosity about places they had never visited. For they also hoped to educate themselves with the intellectual, cultural, and literary knowledge which these travel books could afford. Luckily for them, most of the travel writers were very well educated and were some of the most important writers of the day, such as Addison, Defoe and Johnson. With an increase in the respectability of travel literature, the genre became extremely popular. The differences in social and cultural institutions in England and the rest of Europe posed no problem to the readers. Most often, both English and other European social and cultural institutions were founded upon similar basic principles; and with constant interaction between Englishmen and other Europeans, the differences grew less strange. Travellers and readers accepted geographical and, sometimes, religious reasons for these differences. On

the whole, however, there developed a reciprocity of travel and cultural ideas.

The thirst for knowledge about foreign places, as already suggested, extended to knowledge about Africa. Although, like travel books on Europe, travel books about Africa were about the continent and its people, the effect on the reader constituted the most important difference between these two categories of non-fiction travel literature. The distance of a journey to Africa was enough to discourage any form of travel exchange between England and Africa. The colour and other physical traits of the African people widened this gap. The remoteness of Africa and the "strangeness" of its people were politically and culturally inhibitive to the European comprehension of Africa. This incomprehension has persisted into the twentieth century. If eighteenth century writers of travel books considered the physical and cultural remoteness of Africa as inhibiting, they did not reveal it. Rather, they concealed their inhibitions even as they reported on the uniqueness of the continent and its people. Emphasis on differences widened, rather than narrowed, the geographical and cultural gap between England and Africa. The further the location, the more unique Africa was and the more curious readers were to know about it. With this planted firmly in the minds of both travellers and writers, several of them engaged in blatant exaggerations in their accounts. The educative value of travel was not nullified, but it was subordinated to the

mere curiosity of readers. They tended to regard Africa as a "dark" and "mysterious" continent and their reading did very little to make it otherwise.

Ideological differences about Africa were not so easily removed even when writers of fiction plagiarized travel books for the composition of their plots. The main reason was that some of these writers had seized upon the subject of Africa for the immense appeal this "mysterious" continent had for readers. Any under-emphasis of the differences was most likely to diminish audience interest. Therefore, Defoe, instead of neutralizing cultural particularities, heightened them even as he dealt with the didactic implications of travel. This implicit didacticism did not work against Defoe's imitation of the narrative effects of sensationalism in non-fictive descriptions of Africa; instead it operated alongside the sensationalism. It is in view of this tension that Defoe's Captain Singleton may be regarded as an initial stage in the development of travel fiction out of non-fiction travel literature about not only Africa but other foreign lands. The sense of remoteness and some factual evidence of cultural differences allowed for the fictional treatment of Africa.

The physical and cultural differences of Africa from Europe are used on a more abstract level in Samuel Johnson's Rasselas. This book marks a further stage in the development of fiction from non-fiction travel literature on Africa. In this book, people and places are imbued with moral and spiritual attributes. Universal values transcend regional

particularities. Johnson's elimination of these particularities involves the extension of values on moral ideas to apply not only to England and Europe but to the whole world. Johnson's moral fable does not depend on the reader's interest in the uniqueness of Africa. His deliberate vagueness in his description of scenery and character discourages this sort of interest. But he does depend on the physical rather than the cultural distance of Africa from Europe to provide the sense of objectivity necessary for the revelation of the universality of moral and spiritual experiences.

Africa as a subject for the literary imagination was rich enough to allow authors to explore the implicit and explicit moral values of travel. It importantly allowed writers the freedom to convert fact into fiction. Most important of all, travel fiction which Africa inspired encouraged a dynamic relationship between the author, the book and the reader. The reader would be a partial or an impartial observer of fictional events depending on how much prejudice had been included in the fictional plot. At other times, a closer identification with fictional characters who are stripped of all physical peculiarities resulted in a greater moral involvement of the reader. Defoe and Johnson's artistic manipulation of the image of Africa is successful because of its encouragement of the reader's participation in the aesthetic realization of the universal values that the image of Africa had become associated with.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

[1]Lucy Aiken, The Life of Joseph Addison, Vol. 1 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843), p. 28.

[2]John Loftis, The Politics of Drama in Augustan England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 58.

[3]G.S. Holmes & W.A. Speck, The Divided Society (London, 1967), p. 2.

[4]Leo Hughes, The Drama's Patrons (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), p. 56.

[5]Loftis, p. 1.

[6]Colley Cibber, An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Ed. B.R.S. Fone (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), pp. 26-7.

[7]Jeremy Collier, A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage (London, 1698), p. 1.

[8]Ibid., p. 54.

[9]The program of the S.P.C.K. is discussed in M.G. Jones, The Charity School Movement (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1964), p. 36ff.

[10]Ibid., p. 39.

[11]Daniel Defoe, Review, Vol. 6, No. 65, Thursday, September 1, 1709.

[12]Joseph Addison et al., The Spectator, Ed. G.A. Aitken (London: J.B. Millet Company, 1897), No. 235, Thursday, November 29, 1711.

[13]Loftis, Chapter 4, pp. 63-93.

[14]Harold Herd, The March of Journalism (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1952), chapter 1.

[15]Defoe, Review, Vol. 6, No. 7, Tuesday, April 19, 1709.

Chapter I

[1]The Spectator, Vol. 5, No. 364.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 234-35.

[4]Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1980), p. 352.

[5]Alexander Pope, The Poems of Alexander Pope, Ed. John Butt (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1963), p. 783, line 321.

[6]Joseph Addison, Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, In The Works of Joseph Addison, Vol. I, Ed. Henry G. Bohn (London: George Bell & Sons, 1906), p. 402.

[7]Ibid., pp. 443-49.

[8]Ibid., p. 360.

[9]Ibid., p. 360.

[10]Ibid., p. 430.

[11]Ibid., p. 373.

[12]Ibid., p. 393.

[13]Ibid., p. 393.

[14]Ibid., p. 393.

[15]Ibid., p. 393.

[16]Ibid., p. 459.

[17]Ibid., p. 425.

[18]Ibid., pp. 420-21.

[19]Richard Jobson, The Golden Trade (Teignmouth, Devonshire: E.E. Speight & R.H. Walpole, 1623), p. 122.

[20]Ibid., p. 131.

[21]William Bosman, Description of the Coast of Guinea (London, 1705), Preface, p. 1.

[22]William Snelgrave, A New Account of Guinea (London, 1734), Introduction, p. 2.

[23]John Atkins, A Voyage to Guinea (London: Ward & Chandler, 1735), p. 34.

[24]Ibid., p. 39.

[25]The Spectator, Nos. 584, 585.

Chapter II

[1]Defoe, Review, Vol. 6, No. 7, Tuesday, April 19, 1709.

[2]Defoe, Review, Vol. 6, No. 64, Tuesday, March 28, 1704.

[3]Defoe, Review, Vol. 5, No. 28, Tuesday, June 1, 1708.

[4]Arthur Wellesley Secord, Studies on the Narrative Method of Defoe (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963), p. 113.

[5]Secord, p. 40.

[6]Daniel Defoe, The Life, Adventures and Piracies of the Famous Captain Singleton (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1914), pp. 54-55.

[7]Snelgrave, A New Account of Guinea (London, 1734), p. 4.

[8]Captain Singleton, pp. 24-25.

[9]Ibid., p. 17.

[10]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

[11]Richard Jobson, The Golden Trade (England: Teignmouth, 1623), p. 27.

[12]Ibid., p. 161.

[13]Captain Singleton, pp. 100-101.

[14]Ibid., p. 103.

[15]Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[16]Ibid., p. 82.

[17]Ibid., p. 142.

[18]Ibid., p. 73.

[19]Ibid., p. 74.

[20]Ibid., p. 129.

[21]George Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography (Princeton: New Jersey Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 4.

[22]Ibid., p. 6.

[23]Captain Singleton, pp. 7-8.

[24]Ibid., p. 305.

[25]Ibid., p. 316.

[26]Ibid., p. 316.

Chapter III

[1]According to Arthur J. Weitzman and Donald Lockhart, Johnson may have used the following travel books for his Ethiopian and Egyptian setting in Rasselas: John Greaves, Pyramidographia, In The Miscellaneous Works of John Greaves, 2 Vols. (London, 1737); Aaron Hill, A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire (London, 1709); Richard Pococke, Description of the East and Some Other Countries (London, 1743-45); George Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, Begun A.D. 1610 (London: G. Millers, 1632).

[2]Gwin J. Kolb, "'The Paradise' in Abyssinia and The 'Happy Valley' in Rasselas" (Modern Philology, 45, 1958, pp. 10-16), pp. 12-13.

[3]Donald M. Lockhart, "The Fourth Son of the Mighty Emperor: Background of Johnson's Rasselas" (PMLA, 78, 1963, pp. 516-28), pp. 521-522.

[4]I have used Donald Lockhart's references to the works of the following Jesuit missionaries, in his article on "The Ethiopian Background of Rasselas": Francisco Alvarez, The Voyage of Sir Francis Alvarez, Ed. Samuel Purchas (Glasgow, 1905-07); Balthazar Tellez, The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia (London, 1710).

[5]Jerome Lobo, A Voyage to Abyssinia (London: Elliot & Gray, 1789), pp. 261-262.

[6]Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[7]Lockhart, p. 520.

[8]Ibid., p. 520.

[9]Samuel Johnson, The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 39.

[10]Lockhart, pp. 523-24.

[11]Job Ludolf, A New History of Ethiopia (London, 1682). This book was translated and published by J.P. Gent in 1682. Lockhart makes extensive use of it in his study of the Ethiopian background of Rasselas. I have had to depend on Lockhart's references due to the unavailability of Ludolf's book.

[12]Lockhart, p. 524.

[13]Ibid., p. 524.

[14]Rasselas, pp. 1-2.

[15]Lockhart, p. 518.

[16]Thomas Curley discusses Howell's influence on Johnson's theory of travel in Chapter 2 of Samuel Johnson and the Age of Travel (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1976), pp. 69-71.

[17]Samuel Johnson, The Idler, Vol. 4, In The Works of Samuel Johnson (Oxford: Talboys & Wheeler, 1825), No. 97.

[18]Rasselas, p. 82.

[19]Ibid., p. 104.

[20]Ibid., p. 77.

[21]Ibid., p. 109.

[22]Ibid., p. 62.

[23]Ibid., p. 142.

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